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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

'STRANGER IN A STRANGE LAND': IMAGES OF CANADA IN EUROPEAN LITERATURE, 1800-1990

BY

KARIN E. BEELER

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

(Fall) (1991)

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ISBN 0-315-70131-5

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DEGREE: Doctor of Philosophy

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1991

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Canada: "a name derived from the Huron-Iroquois *kanata*, meaning a village or settlement."
The Canadian Encyclopedia. Second Edition, p.322.

"...Canada is said to have got its name from the two Spanish words 'Aca' and 'Nada,' as signifying 'there is nothing here.'"
R.B. Cunninghame Graham, *Mogreb-el-Acksa; a journey in Morocco*. London: William Heinemann, 1898. p.194.

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ENTITLED 'Stranger in a Strange Land':
Images of Canada in European Literature, 1800-1990

SUBMITTED BY Karin E. Beeler

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents,

Theodor and Elisabeth Kondratzky

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines images of Canada in nineteenth and twentieth-century British, French and German literature. The treatment of Canada in these literary traditions is determined by generic, national, cultural, historical and political considerations. While travel writing is addressed, poetry and fiction, including the adventure novel, the historical romance and juvenile literature are emphasized and identified as genres which tend to reflect exaggerated, idealistic or stereotypical views of Canada. In general, the Canadian images in these works are intended to appeal to a European audience rather than a North American readership. Topics such as the literary depiction of the European immigrant in Canada, the conception of Canada as a promised land, the role of aboriginal people, and French Canada are discussed. In addition, the impact of ideologies such as imperialism, fascism, nationalism and Romanticism on the European presentation of Canada in literature is assessed. Overall, British, French and German works reflect a profound interest in Canada's past and its rural regions, while largely ignoring the country's urban dimension. Although some European authors attempt to explore the cultural makeup and practices of Canadians, most writers prefer to use Canada as a sounding board for their own national concerns. In other words, this North American landscape represents an imaginative possibility or a tabula rasa on which European ideologies, identities and values are superimposed. While British, French and German

writers differ somewhat in their treatment of Canada due to individual national interests and audiences, all three literary traditions tend to subordinate the Canadian content in order to promote the superiority of a European outlook.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Edward Możejko, as well as Professors E.D. Blodgett, M.V. Dimić, D.Owram and E.M. Kröller for reading the dissertation and offering many helpful suggestions. I also gratefully acknowledge the financial assistance provided by the University of Alberta and the Social Sciences and Humanities Council which enabled me to complete my doctoral studies. Finally, I want to thank my husband Stan Beeler for his computer expertise in the production of the thesis, and for his constant support.

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Introduction

Over the course of literary history, many authors have manifested an interest in the foreign or the exotic. Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan*, Madame de Staël's "De L'Allemagne," Stendhal's *La Chartreuse de Parme* and Michel Tournier's *Le Roi des Aulnes* are several texts which reflect their authors' fascination with foreign lands. However, European interest has not only been limited to European countries and the Orient. North America has also figured prominently in works like Chateaubriand's *Atala* and *René*, Nikolaus Lenau's poetry, British Victorian literature and in more modern literature such as Franz Kafka's *Amerika* and Bertolt Brecht's drama and poetry. While the majority of Europeans seem to have concentrated on the United States in their depiction of the New World, numerous writers have chosen Canada as their literary subject. Over the last two centuries, British, French and German authors have generated many images of Canada in the literature of travel and exploration, historical novels, poetry and especially juvenile adventure stories. Books about Canada's virgin wilderness and untouched beauty, its aboriginal peoples, uncivilized culture, or economic potential reflect certain views on Canada held by British, French and German writers between the early nineteenth century to the present. Some of the Canadian images are fairly realistic, while others are idealistic, highly exaggerated or distorted. This is partly due to the fact that much of the European

literature about Canada was produced for propaganda purposes to lure potential emigrants to Canada, or for the sole purpose of confirming certain stereotypical views of Canada which European audiences for historical, cultural or literary reasons were determined to uphold.

This dissertation will examine the images of Canada presented in nineteenth- and twentieth-century British, French and German literature. I have chosen these particular literary traditions for a variety of reasons. First, these European cultures seem to have produced more literature about Canada than most other European nations; moreover, English, French and German immigrants comprised a large number of the early settlements in Canada. This study begins with nineteenth-century literature because the literature about Canada that existed prior to this time consisted largely of Scandinavian sagas, travelogues, diaries and factual reports. Furthermore, the body of fiction about Canada published before the nineteenth century was negligible and therefore had little impact on nineteenth and twentieth-century literature. I wish to stress that in this study, the "European" image of Canada refers only to British, French and German literary depictions and not to those of other European literatures. While there may well be some similarities between Slavic, Scandinavian or Italian perceptions of Canada and the presentation of Canada in British, French and German texts, only a thorough

examination of these other European texts (preferably in the original language) can confirm such parallels.

A study of this kind will reveal some obvious parallels between the Canadian image in European literature and the European image of the United States. Many of the nineteenth and twentieth-century views of Canada as a land of milk and honey offering limitless opportunities for economic prosperity were applied to the United States on an even larger scale. Furthermore, the United States (and before the birth of this nation, North America or "America" in general) acquired significance as "another Europe," a landscape for the European imagination.[1] However, beyond these initial similarities, some clear differences between the depictions of Canada and the United States in nineteenth- and twentieth-century British, French and German literatures emerge. Because of its break from British control, the United States became synonymous with the spirit of freedom, revolution and republicanism which appealed to the populations in France and Germany throughout the 1800s. (France saw parallels between the American Revolution and its own, while the people of Germany sought to escape serfdom by rebelling against the political establishment.) Britain, of course, viewed the young nation in less favourable terms, and to compensate, tried to concentrate its literary efforts on Canada and remaining

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[1]Richard Ruland, *America in Modern European Literature: From Image to Metaphor*. New York: New York University Press, 1976.

colonies. French literature over the last two hundred years has concentrated on the province of Québec, the simple life of the habitant, and the psychological links between the French factor in North America and France. Writers of German literature have only shown an increased interest in Canada since the twentieth century, partly because of its late emergence as an independent nation. In general, European literature about Canada has portrayed "a kinder, gentler nation" than the United States. As the United States became more industrialized, more urban, brash and powerful, it was perceived rather negatively by European writers, and the "ugly American" syndrome was born. Canada, on the other hand, has come to symbolize a contrast to the urban jungle of the United States. In the literature of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europeans, it is presented as an untouched land, a spectacular wilderness – characteristics that had once been applied to its southern neighbour. Ironically, Canada's image as an unassuming and modest nation has often resulted in the tendency among European writers to manipulate the concept of Canada to serve their own literary ends. This ideological manipulation was perhaps facilitated by the fact that most of the fiction about Canada has been of the popular variety, designed to influence and appeal to the public at large. Although the United States also became the subject of popular fiction, more authors who are part of the literary canon have written about America than Canada.

American views of Canada have often coincided with European views in the sense that Europeans and Americans alike have tended to assert the superiority of their own culture over the Canadian way of life.[2] Since American writers were often more concerned with the development of their own nation, Canada's cultural, political and social makeup acquired inferior qualities. In the adventure fiction of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Canadian geography is sometimes merely an extension of the United States. French Canada is portrayed in even less sympathetic terms than in the literature of European writers because of the American rejection of the "anachronistic" and a strong belief in homogeneity.

Although European views of the United States and American views of Canada have some parallels with images of Canada in European literature, it is not the purpose of this dissertation to engage in comparisons between such image studies and the image of Canada in British, French and German literature. Instead, this dissertation will concentrate exclusively on the British, French and German literary treatment of Canada during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, primarily because other book length studies dealing with the image of Canada in more than a single national literature do not exist. My reasons for covering a rather

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[2]See James Doyle's *North of America: Images of Canada in the Literature of the United States 1775-1900*. Toronto: ECW Press, 1983.

broad historical period and spectrum of texts become evident when one considers the restricted scope of other critical efforts on the image of Canada in foreign literature. Works like Moyles' and Owram's *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880-1914*,[3] Paulette Collet's *Les Romanciers français et le Canada*[4], and James Doyle's *North of America: Images of Canada in the Literature of the United States 1775-1900*[5] have focused on a single national literature or on a very specific time frame. This study attempts to provide a more comparative analysis of the Canadian image since it covers three different European literatures in order to establish whether the images of Canada differ across national boundaries.

Because of some inevitable overlap in the images depicted in British, French, and German literature, the chapters are organized thematically rather than separated according to individual literatures. Within each thematic category, distinctions and similarities between English, French and German portraits of Canada will be made. Furthermore, this study will concentrate on fiction rather than travel

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[3]R.G. Moyles and Doug Owram. *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880-1914*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

[4]Paulette Collet, *Les Romanciers français et le Canada. (1842-1981)*. Sherbrooke: Éditions Naaman, 1984.

[5]James Doyle, *North of America: Images of Canada in the Literature of the United States 1775-1900*. Toronto: ECW Press, 1983.

literature for a variety of reasons. Not only is the latter genre profuse, but other literary studies have tended to focus on travel accounts of Canada, thereby overlooking fictional prose and poetry. In addition, the writer of the travelogue feels compelled to provide a more empirical approach towards foreign phenomena; our analysis of the Canadian image intends to emphasize the artistic license many authors of fiction have taken in their presentation of Canada.

The general purpose of this dissertation is to reveal what have been the most prevalent images of Canada over the last two centuries and to demonstrate how European images are determined by generic, national, cultural, historical or political considerations. The term "Canada" is used in this study to refer to the current geographical and political scope of the country, despite the fact that much of the literature deals with regions previously referred to as British North America, Rupert's Land, New France or "le pays d'en haut." The theoretical area of investigation on which this project is loosely based is that of comparative imagology or the study of national images in foreign literatures. In order to help contextualize our analysis of the Canadian image in European literature within the realm of imagology and in the field of comparative literary studies, a brief history of image studies has been provided. This summary should make the reader aware of important questions that must be raised in any comparative imagological research.

A Brief History of Comparative Imagology

Studying the images of a nation in foreign literatures has not only become a viable, but also an increasingly popular branch of comparative literary research. Although many literati before the twentieth century authored works (travel diaries, novels, plays) about countries other than their own, the existence of a theoretical branch of study which analyzes such phenomena with its own methodology is fairly new. Hugo Dyserinck, the Belgian comparatist mentions works by Louis-Paul Betz ["Kritische Betrachtungen über Wesen, Aufgabe und Bedeutung der vergleichenden Litteraturgeschichte"[sic] (1896)], Fernand Baldensperger's comments in *La Littérature, création, succès, durée* (Paris: Éditions Flammarion, 1913) and Paul Hazard's recommendations for image studies in "Les récents travaux en littératures comparées" (1914) as precursors to the studies of Carré and Guyard.[6] However, he too admits that imagology did not gain momentum until the emergence of Marius-François Guyard's book *La littérature comparée* (1951).[7] Both Guyard and his teacher Jean-Marie Carré had already produced books on the image of a country in the literature of another [Carré's book, *Les écrivains français et le mirage allemand* (Paris: Boivin, 1947), and

---

[6]See Dyserinck's endnotes 244, 245 and 246 and p.126 of "Komparatistische Imagologie" in *Komparatistik: Eine Einführung*. Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1977.

[7]Marius-François Guyard, *La littérature comparée*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951.

Guyard's *L'image de la Grande-Bretagne dans la littérature française (1914-1940)* (Paris: M.Didier, 1954)]. Given post-war Europe's heightened awareness of nationalistic tendencies, it is not surprising that "image studies" (in the larger context of comparative literary studies) became prevalent at that time. Carré's "avant-propos" to Guyard's *La littérature comparée* stresses the important role of comparative literature in showing how Europeans see one another: "Comment nous voyons-nous entre nous, Anglais et Français, Français et Allemands, etc."[8] Guyard devotes an entire chapter ("L'étranger tel qu'on le voit") to "image studies" although the actual term "Imagologie" is not used. Guyard argues that such literary studies do not attempt to perceive a single, consolidated image of a particular country in the literature studied, rather they show multiple images or mirages (false images) of a country: "Il n'y a pas l'Allemagne, mais l'Allemagne de Michelet, celle des philosophes, celle des Français."[9] Moreover, he indicates that by resolving questions pertaining to the image of a country in the literature of another, "c'est apprendre aux peuples à se mieux connaître en reconnaissant leurs illusions."[10] This statement

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[8]Jean-Marie Carré, avant-propos, in Marius-François Guyard, *La littérature comparée*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951. p.6

[9]*La littérature comparée*, p.111.

[10]*La littérature comparée*, p.119.

clearly echoes Goethe's notion of "Weltliteratur"[11] as a means of effecting a better understanding between nations. However, Guyard's belief that one of the purposes of "Imagologie" should be to dispel illusions can be challenged, since literary studies may reveal these illusions, but they are not obliged to dispel them.

Guyard and Carré were clearly trying to embark on a new field in comparative literature studies; however, their chapter on "l'étranger tel qu'on le voit" was seriously questioned by René Wellek who felt that their "image studies" belonged to the spheres of "comparative national psychology", sociology or general history.[12] When he wrote his article Wellek believed that "comparative literature" should probably be defined as the study of literature; consequently, he claimed that studying national myths even in fiction, could be little more than "Stoffgeschichte" because there was "only a social history of these images" and that no literary scholarship was involved. Needless to say, since Wellek's 1953

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[11]"Aber freilich, wenn wir Deutschen nicht aus dem engen Kreise unserer eigenen Umgebung hinausblicken, so kommen wir gar zu leicht in diesen pedantischen Dünkel. Ich sehe mich daher gerne bei fremden Nationen um und rate jedem, es auch seinerseits zu tun. Nationalliteratur will jetzt nicht nicht (sic) viel sagen, die Epoche der Weltliteratur ist an der Zeit, und jeder muß jetzt dazu wirken, diese Epoche zu beschleunigen." Johann Peter Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*. Ed. Dr. Hans Timotheus Krodber. Weimar: Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, 1918. pp.193-4.

[12]René Wellek, "The Concept of Comparative Literature," *Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature* II (1953) pp. 1-5.

rejection of Guyard's "image studies" other critics have come to encourage "Imagologie" and to argue for its rightful place within a literary if not comparative literary realm of study. Ulrich Weisstein, for example, agrees in part with Wellek's assessment of the Guyard study, but concedes that the pursuit is valid when strictly literary (i.e. looking at national images in literary works instead of generalizing about national psychology).[13] Furthermore S.S. Prawer insists in his *Comparative Literary Studies* that

> literary scholarship need not be quite so purist – sociological and historical investigations have a legitimate part to play in comparative literary studies, and comparatists perform a useful function when (for instance) they expose misconceptions about national characteristics and nation types propagated by widely read novelists.[14]

The main proponent of "Imagologie" after Guyard has been the Belgian comparatist Hugo Dyserinck. Dyserinck argues that "Imagologie" has a place in the realm of literary study specifically because of its "werkimmanente" aspect; in other words, he believes that there are specific literary images of the foreigner or the foreign nation as he illustrates in his analysis of Bernanos' image of Flanders in *Journal d'un curé*

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[13]Ulrich Weisstein, *Comparative Literature and Literary Theory. Survey and Introduction*. Trans. Weisstein and William Riggan. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968. pp.64-5.

[14]S.S. Prawer, *Comparative Literary Studies: An Introduction*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc. 1973. pp.21-22.

de campagne.[15] In addition, he argues that any literary study of images should also entail the consideration of extra-literary features of images:

> Denn literatische *images* üben ihre Wirkung nicht nur in der Literatur und im literarischen Leben im weitesten Sinn des Wortes aus, sondern sie beeinflussen von der Literatur her auch das Leserpublikum und die öffentliche Meinungsbildung.[16]

However, he warns that it is not the role of image studies to provide a definitive view or the essence of national psychology or quality:

> Sie fragt in der Tat nicht: Welches ist das "Wesen" oder die nationale "Eigenart" der deutschen, französischen und englischen Literatur? Sondern sie fragt, welche Eigenschaften von außen der deutschen, französischen und englischen Literatur zugeschrieben werden...Komparatistische Imagologie strebt in erster Linie danach, die jeweiligen Erscheinungsformen der *images* sowie ihr Zustandekommen und ihre Wirkung zu erfassen. Außerdem will sie auch dazu beitragen, die Rolle, die solche literarischen *images* bei der Begegnung der einzelnen Kulturen spielen, zu erhellen.[17]

In other words, image studies do not subscribe to a particular ideology but rather engage in the process of stripping away ideology ("Entideologisierung").

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[15]Hugo Dyserinck, "Zum Problem der 'images' und 'mirages' und ihrer Untersuchung im Rahmen der Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft," *Arcadia* 1, 1966. pp.107-20.

[16]"Komparatistische Imagologie," *Komparatistik: Eine Einführung*. p.129.

[17]"Komparatistische Imagologie," p.131.

Manfred S. Fischer, a student of Dyserinck's, has also contributed to the field of imagology. His *Nationale Images als Gegenstand Vergleichender Literaturgeschichte* is the first comprehensive overview of the development of "Imagologie" as a special area of comparative studies. In his chronological examination of imagology, he analyzes the work of Taine, Hennequin, Lanson, Baldensperger, Hazard, Carré and Guyard. Fischer chooses these scholars because they appear to have raised methodological and theoretical problems in *comparative* imagology. However, like Dyserinck he identifies a difference between the earlier phase of imagology and the later phase. In its early days, imagology was associated with the description of national psychology; today, "komparatistische Imagologie" examines how systems of thought and structures function.[18]

A more recent discussion of imagology is provided in Pierre Brunel's and Yves Chevrel's book *Précis de littérature comparée*. In their chapter "De l'imagerie culturelle à l'imaginaire," these French comparatists also stress that imagology can reveal the functions of an ideology:

> Ce type de travail mène le chercheur à des carrefours problématiques où l'image tend à être un révélateur particulièrement éclairant des fonctionnements d'une idéologie (racisme, exotisme, par exemple, pour nous en tenir à des

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[18]Manfred S. Fischer, *Nationale Images als Gegenstand Vergleichender Literaturgeschichte: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung der komparatistischen Imagologie*. Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1981.

questions concernant «l'étranger tel qu'on le voit»).[19]

Brunel and Chevrel indicate that an interesting relationship exists between the image of the foreign or "l'Autre" and the ideology behind the generation of such an image. In presenting the "Other," a culture or a literary entity actually presents itself, thereby negating the presence of the Other:

> Impossible d'éviter que l'image de l'Autre, à un niveau individuel (un écrivain), collectif (une société, un pays, une nation), ou semi-collectif (une famille de pensée, une «opinion»), n'apparaisse aussi comme la négation de l'Autre, le complément, le prolongement de mon propre corps et de mon propre espace. Je veux dire l'Autre...et, en disant l'Autre, je le nie et me dis moi-même.[20]

According to the authors of *Précis de littérature comparée*, image studies should reveal the ideological mechanisms and the social or cultural foundations of "le discours sur l'Autre."[21]

The above history shows how relevant image studies are to comparative topics. In our analysis of the Canadian image in European literatures, we will among other things point out ideological trappings in the various texts. We will consider both "werkimmanente" factors and extra-literary elements such

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[19]Pierre Brunel and Yves Chevrel, "De l'imagerie culturelle à l'imaginaire," *Précis de littérature comparée*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1989. p.135.

[20]"De l'imagerie culturelle à l'imaginaire," p.137.

[21]"De l'imagerie culturelle à l'imaginaire," p.137.

as sociological, biographical and historical data. This dissertation will apply some of the goals of image studies to the study of the image of Canada in selected works from nineteenth- and twentieth-century English, French and German literature. However, because imagology does not first and foremost purport to dispel illusions, our discussion will not continually emphasize discrepancies between Canadian reality and the literary depiction of Canada. Although details will occasionally be provided to give a sense of Canadian history, this study will by and large reveal the conventions, ideologies and systems which help create the images of Canada for British, French, and German writers. In other words, we will stress the various ways Canada is presented to the European reader in narrative forms and poetry in addition to examining the frequent literary emphasis on the European author's nation.

The thesis itself consists of five chapters and an extensive bibliography which lists numerous European novels and poems, many of which have not been mentioned in other studies of Canada in foreign literatures. Chapter one is essentially a historical survey of nineteenth and twentieth-century British, French and German literature on Canada; it identifies the various genres used by authors to present their literary images of Canada. The second chapter introduces some sociological factors such as immigration statistics and draws parallels between the economic hopes and fears of the

immigrant in Canada with the depiction of the immigrant in European literature about Canada; Chapter three identifies the strong presence of ideology (British imperialism, fascism, Romanticism) in certain texts about Canada – an ideology which can contribute to an exaggeration of the Canadian image, or a de-emphasis on that which is Canadian. In Chapter four, images of French Canada including New France, Québec and Acadia are examined. Here "French" identity and French-Canadian nationalism are discussed. The final chapter deals with Canada's aboriginal peoplé who have often been the most common example of stereotypical portraits of Canada in European literature.

By devoting a book length study to the image of Canada in foreign literatures, we intend to show that there has been a sustained interest in presenting images of this country over the last two hundred years. In many cases, the fiction does not reflect the reality, but determines the "real Canada" for the European writer and his public. In this sense, the image of Canada in European literature may differ from the image of a European country in European literature because Canada is a more remote (both geographically and psychologically) concept to the average European than another European nation.

Furthermore, by focusing on the Canadian-European link in this dissertation, I intend to challenge the earlier trend of image studies which examined the image of one European country within another European literature, and never ventured outside

of Europe. One of the functions of this dissertation is to encourage contemporary comparatists to explore links between European and North American literatures and literary images in order to discourage the segregation of European and North American comparative literary studies. This work should also help highlight the validity of **Canadian** studies within a European context; all too often the Canadian image in literature has been overshadowed by scholarly interest in our neighbour to the south.

We hope that this dissertation will benefit a variety of scholars including the student of Canadian literature, who may be primarily engaged in the study of Canadian self-identity, the scholar of travel literature, the European researcher working on North American literary studies, and above all the Comparatist.

Chapter One: A Historical Survey of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British, French and German Literature on Canada

Literature produced in Europe over the last few centuries reflects a keen interest in North America including Canada. A wide variety of genres including travel literature, novels and poetry on the subject of Canada has been generated by English, French and German literary minds – most of these were published within the last two hundred years. Some of these texts are authored by well known writers such as Chateubriand, Charles Dickens, and Rudyard Kipling. Others are generated by writers like Jules Verne, Bernard Clavel and A.E. Johann, who are not generally regarded as part of the literary canon, but who still deserve mention because of their popular appeal. This chapter will provide a survey of European literature about Canada published during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; special note will be taken of the kinds of texts produced during specific historical periods in order to account for any wane or rise in interest in Canada as a literary subject. Various criteria will be applied before identifying the texts as European. Included in the designation of "European" are writers who were born in Europe and never visited Canada, or authors who had spent some time in Canada but eventually returned to their European birthplace. Works published in Britain, France or Germany will also be included

in our examination of the European image of Canada.[22] In this chapter, we intend to pay particular attention to fiction or poetry about Canada, even though travelogues will also be considered. The stress on fictional literature is due to the fact that other studies on foreign images of Canada have dealt almost exclusively with travel literature; moreover, the images of Canada presented in fiction or poetry are generally more exaggerated, stereotypical or ideologically motivated than those found in the literature of travel or exploration.

When analyzing the various literary depictions of Canada, it is also important to recognize the division of texts according to canonized or "high" literature and popular literature. For example, texts like Chateaubriand's *Atala* and Lenau's poetry have been accepted into the literary canon because of what scholars have perceived as an enduring aesthetic value. The majority of the texts, however, which make up our study of the Canadian image in British, French and German literature belong to the field of popular literature, and as such may have a different agenda. They are intended for mass consumption and often sacrifice certain principles of coherence, narrative continuity or character development in order to maintain a predictable formula or conventions that

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[22]We are aware that some of the writers to be examined in this dissertation may have been placed in the category of English, French or German-Canadian authors, simply because of the amount of time they spent in Canada; however, we hope to argue that the attitudes expressed in their writing and the audience for which they are writing place them within the sphere of European literature.

are part of an implicit author-reader contract. Although popular literature appears to promote its entertainment value above all else, it has often served as a particularly useful vehicle for the dissemination of propaganda or various political ideologies.

1. British Literature (1800-present)

Among European countries, Britain has generated the most literature about Canada, largely because of the nation's historical interest in its colony. Most British literature about Canada was written between the 1830s and the second decade of the twentieth century.[23] During this time, much literary propaganda surfaced in order to encourage Britons to settle in Canada. Many of the books were travel accounts by military men, wives of government officials or simply private citizens who took pleasure tours to Canada. Typical examples of this genre are Hugh Gray's *Letters from Canada written during a residence there in the years 1806, 1807, and 1808*

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[23]Although most of the fiction and poetry about Canada appeared during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth, we should take note of an early dramatic piece set in Canada. This is a play by the eighteenth-century dramatist John Dennis called *Liberty Asserted: A Tragedy* (1704). The work describes the battle between the English and the French for Canada and between the Iroquois (confederates of the English) and the Hurons ("Friends to the French"). Of particular interest is the dialogue between the Indians, who imitate the speech of seventeenth-century English nobility. In the preface, Dennis describes the scene of the play as follows: "The Scene of this Tragedy lies at Agnie in Canada; which for the sake of the better found, I call Angie. Canada is a vast Tract of Land in Northern America, on the Back of New England and New York." Preface to *Liberty Asserted*. in *The Plays of John Dennis*. Ed. J.W. Johnson: New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1980.

(1809), John Lambert's *Travels* (1810), John Howison's *Sketches of Upper Canada* (1821), Frederick Marryat's *A Diary in America* (1839), Paul Kane's *Wanderings of An Artist* (1859), Sophia Cracroft's *Lady Jane Franklin visits the Pacific Northwest: Being extracts from the letters of Miss Sophia Cracroft, Sir John Franklin's niece, Feb. to April 1861 and April to July 1870*, Lady Monck's *My Canadian Leaves* (1873), Lady Dufferin's *My Canadian Journal 1872-78* (1891), The Marquis of Lorne's *Canadian Life and Scenery. With Hints to Intending Emigrants and Settlers* (1891), and the Countess of Aberdeen's *Through Canada with a Kodak* (1893).[24] The treatment of Canada in the majority of these works ranges from the very pragmatic or mundane to the more refined observations of Anna Brownell Jameson in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838), a work which reflects a more studied and literary sensibility. Jameson's book contains not only a decidedly British perspective, but a devotion to European culture including German letters. In fact, some of the descriptions of Canada contain allusions to European literature, which shows how Europeans use their own civilization as a point of reference or as a means of coming to terms with their conception of Canada. For example, she compares the state of the Indians with the mores of Europeans, and suggests that the Indians are

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[24]Full bibliographical information for works listed in this chapter are provided in the bibliography.

in many ways less brutal than the "civilized" nations of Europe:

> A war-party of Indians, perhaps two or three hundred, (and that is a very large number,) dance their war-dance, go out and burn a village, and bring back twenty or thirty scalps. *They* are savages and heathens. We Europeans fight a battle, leave fifty thousand dead or dying by inches on the field, and a hundred thousand to mourn them, desolate; but *we* are civilised and Christians... if our advantages of intellect and refinement are not to lead on to farther moral superiority, I prefer the Indians on the score of consistency; they are what they profess to be, and we are *not* what we profess to be. They profess to be warriors and hunters, and are so; we profess to be Christians, and civilised – are we so?[25]

This view sets Jameson apart from many of her fellow travel writers and British novelists who tend to extol the Christian virtues of the European and dismiss the savage ways of the Indian. During her trip to Canada, she also reveals how her expectations of Niagara were dashed after she beheld the Falls and noted with great disappointment their inferiority to "Terni, and some of the Swiss cataracts leaping from their mountains."[26]

Some rather well known literary minds such as the poet Thomas Moore (a friend of Lord Byron), Charles Dickens, Anthony Trollope and Rudyard Kipling also wrote on the subject of Canada. It is often interesting to note how writers from

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[25]Anna Brownell Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, Afterword, Clara Thomas. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990. pp.459-60.

[26]Anna Brownell Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*. p.57.

the same national literary tradition can hold such divergent views on Canada. Moreover, the writers do not always find the same sights appealing. Thomas Moore, for example, seems to have found little to recommend "the bleak and rocky wilderness by which Halifax is surrounded"[27]; however, unlike Anna Brownell Jameson, he was simply overcome by the beauty of the Niagara Falls as were Dickens and Trollope. In his letters (written during his tour of Canada in 1804) he makes the following remarks:

> I have seen the falls, and am all rapture and amazement... Never shall I forget the impression I felt at the first glimpse of them which we got as the carriage passed over the hill that overlooks them. We were not near enough to be agitated by the terrific effects of the scene, but saw through the trees this mighty flow of waters descending with calm magnificence, and received enough of its grandeur to set imagination on the wing; imagination which, even at Niagara, can outrun reality. I felt as if approaching the very residence of the Deity; the tears started into my eyes; and I remained, for moments after we had lost sight of the scene, in that delicious absorption which pious enthusiasm alone can produce. We arrived at the New Ladder and descended to the bottom. Here all its awful sublimities rushed full upon me. But the former exquisite sensation was gone. I now saw all. The string that had been touched by the first impulse, and which *fancy* would have kept for ever in vibration, now rested at *reality*. Yet, though there was no more to imagine, there was much to feel. My whole heart and soul ascended towards the Divinity in a swell of devout admiration, which I never before experienced. Oh! bring the atheist here, and he

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[27]Moore's own footnote to the poem "To The Boston Frigate, on Leaving Halifax for England, October, 1804," in Thomas Moore, *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1849. p.131.

> cannot return an atheist! I pity the man who can coldly sit down to write a description of these ineffable wonders; much more do I pity him who can submit them to the admeasurement of gallons and yards. It is impossible by pen or pencil to convey even a faint idea of their magnificence. Painting is lifeless; and the most burning words of poetry have all been lavished upon inferior and ordinary subjects. We must have new combinations of language to describe the Falls of Niagara.[28]

The impact of the falls on Moore may be attributed to his poetic and Romantic sensibility; this tendency also explains why he wrote his "Canadian Boat Song." This adaptation of a voyageur song was not so much inspired by the content of the song, which Moore thought incoherent due to the "barbarous pronunciation of the Canadians,"[29] as by the beautiful impression of the lakes into which the St. Lawrence opens.

Other British writers like Dickens and Trollope seem more concerned with social, historical and political problems in Canada than with the poetic impact of the scenery, although they both spoke favourably of the Niagara Falls. In his travelogue *American Notes* (1842), Charles Dickens devotes a short section to Canada; the opening lines suggest that he finds comparisons between Canada and the U.S. tiresome and not worth making:

> I wish to abstain from instituting any comparison, or drawing any parallel whatever,

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[28]Thomas Moore, *The Letters of Thomas Moore*. Ed. Wilfred S. Dowden. Vol. I. 1793-1818. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964. Letter to his mother, July 24, 1804. pp.94-5.

[29]Footnote no.1 to "A Canadian Boat Song" p.127. *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore*.

> between the social features of the United States and those of the British possessions in Canada. For this reason, I shall confine myself to a very brief account of our journeyings in the latter territory.[30]

His other observations include a paragraph on the admirable jail in Kingston, "a very poor town"[31] and comments on the "unique and lasting" views of Quebec city, "this Gibraltar of America"[32] as well as enthusiastic remarks on his trip to Niagara.[33]

It is also worth noting that like his contemporary Dickens, Trollope makes a connection between Canada and poverty. In *Phineas Redux* (1874), the character Phineas links Britain's colonies, New Zealand and Canada to the notion of banishment:

> 'What would good men know of him and of his self-sacrifice when he should have been driven out of the world by poverty, and forced probably to go to some New Zealand or back Canadian settlement to look for his bread?'[34]

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[30]Charles Dickens, *American Notes*. Ed. Christopher Lasch. Greenwich: Fawcett Publications, 1961. p.231. Originally published in 1842.

[31]*American Notes*, p.237.

[32]*American Notes*, p.240.

[33]"Niagara was at once stamped upon my heart, an Image of Beauty; to remain there, changeless and indelible, until its pulses cease to beat, forever...I never stirred in all that time from the Canadian side, whither I had gone at first. I never crossed the river again; for I knew there were people on the other shore and in such a place it is natural to shun strange company." *American Notes*, p.229.

[34]Anthony Trollope, *Phineas Redux*. Oxford University Press, 1951. Originally published in 1874. Vol.1. Ch.37. p.329.

Anthony Trollope's ruminations on Canada in his book *North America* (1862) are more lengthy and thorough than Dickens' *American Notes*.[35] He makes reference to Thomas Moore's "Canadian Boat Song" and identifies Canada as a "poorer country" and as a land in which the Englishman is the master rather than a mere visitor (his status in the United States). Trollope's view of Québec is also less enthusiastic than that of Dickens and is typified by a firm belief in the superiority of the British race and Protestantism:

> To many the rock over which Wolfe climbed to the plains of Abram, and on the summit of which he fell in the hour of victory, gives to Quebec its chiefest charm. But I confess to being somewhat dull in such matters. (p.52)

> They [French-Canadians] are thrifty; — but they do not thrive. They do not advance, and push ahead, and become a bigger people from year to year as settlers in a new country should do. They do not even hold their own in comparison with those around them. But has not this always been the case with colonists out of France; and has it not always been the case with Roman Catholics when they have been forced to measure themselves against Protestants? (pp.52-3)

Another English writer, Rudyard Kipling, a champion of British imperialism, wrote travel letters and a poem on Canada. His poem "Our Lady of the Snows" (1897) paints a

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[35]Trollope's first trip to America in 1858 included a trip to the Niagara Falls which he felt could not be appreciated fully at the first glance, but "only by long gazing and long listening." Appendix C. "Trollope's First Visit to America" in *North America* Eds. Donald Smalley and Bradford Allen Booth. p.538. Originally published as Chapter xxiii of Trollope's *The West Indies and the Spanish Main*, London, 1859.

Canada striving for independence but still closely joined to the mother country: "'Daughter am I in my mother's house,/But mistress in my own.'"[36] During his travels to Canada in 1892 and 1907, Kipling wrote with great enthusiasm about the railways and the Canadian's love for his own country. He also encouraged Britons to emigrate to the colony:

> ...an influx of good men is needed more urgently every year during which peace holds — men loyal, clean, and experienced in citizenship, with women not ignorant of sacrifice.[37]

Other literary efforts about Canada include Cornwall Bayley's "Canada: A Descriptive Poem" (1806) and a good deal of popular fiction such as the boy's adventure novel or the historical adventure novel. The most popular and prolific authors on the subject of Canada were undoubtedly R.M. Ballantyne, W.H.G. Kingston (they also wrote travel journals of their visits there) and Argyll Saxby. Ballantyne's *The Young Fur Traders* (1856), Kingston's *Rob Nixon, the Old White Trapper* (1865), and Saxby's *Comrades Three! A Story of the Canadian Prairies* (1911) are indicative of the fiction produced during the heyday of British imperialism. Writers like G.A. Henty (*With Wolfe in Canada*, n.d.), Captain Frederick Marryat (*The Settlers in Canada*, 1844), and Achilles

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[36]Rudyard Kipling, "Our Lady of the Snows," *Rudyard Kipling's Verse*. Inclusive Edition. 1885-1918. Toronto: The Copp Clark Co., Limited Publishers, 1919. 11.3-4. p.208.

[37]Rudyard Kipling, *Letters of Travel 1892-1913*, "Letters to the Family" (1908), New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1920. p.217.

Daunt [*The Three Trappers* (1898)] can also be included in this category of writers who wrote formula fiction for boys. Although the novels listed here are set in Canada, some of the North American-oriented adventure fiction written during this time contains indeterminate settings and little geographical detail; in some cases the only clues given for the location of the novel are the names of specific Indian tribes or general regional terms like the Northwest, the Rocky Mountains or the North American prairies. All of the books to be examined more closely in later chapters of this dissertation, however, clearly name regions which fall under today's definition of Canada.

Many of the boys' adventure novels depict a young British lad roaming through the wilds of Canada for military service or adventure. The novels are rather episodic in nature (somewhat in the style of *Tom Jones*) and are noted for their stock characters. The main character is usually an obstreperous young man, who having had his share of adventure in Canada, often returns to England at the end of the novel to marry his childhood sweetheart and to settle into a more comfortable bourgeois lifestyle. Historical novels of this type tend to focus on the British conquest of Québec in 1759.

Along with adventure fiction, juvenile-oriented journals or magazines contained numerous articles and stories about Britain's colonies, including Canada. The *Boy's Own Paper*, which ran from 1879-1967, and the *Girl's Own Paper*, published

between 1880-1927 under a variety of names, were two such magazines. However, the popularity of these publications started to wane by the second decade of the twentieth century, just like the adventure fiction of the time. Contributions in these juvenile magazines included information about Canada's geography, customs, economic situation as well as stories designed to appeal to boys and girls respectively. In addition to works by Kingston, Ballantyne and Saxby, the series also featured translations of Jules Verne's stories, the more famous French equivalent of these British authors.

In general the twentieth century seemed to mark a decline in Britain's literary interest in Canada. This may be attributed to the transformation of Canada from a colony into a federation within the Empire, and to the sense of independence Canada acquired through active involvement in the First World War. However, a few modern British writers still used Canadian settings in their works or wrote about their travels in the country. These include Mrs. George (Marion) Cran (*A Woman in Canada*) (1910) and Elizabeth B. Mitchell, a Scotswoman who travelled across western Canada in 1913-14 and recorded her experiences in *In Western Canada Before the War: Impressions of early Twentieth Century Prairie Communities.*[38]

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[38]Elizabeth B. Mitchell, *In Western Canada Before the War: Impressions of Early Twentieth Century Prairie Communities*. Ed. Susan Jackel. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1981.

Writers of fantasy and horror have also used Canada as a backdrop for their fiction. For example, Algernon Blackwood spent two years in the Toronto area and used Canada as a setting for his stories "The Wendigo" (1910), and "A Haunted Island" (1906). M.P. Shiel's "The Place of Pain" (1914) and John Russell Fearn's "Arctic God" (1942) are other examples of fantasy that use a Canadian setting. A more recent writer of horror and the supernatural is Clive Barker whose novel *Cabal* (1989) is set in the Athabasca region of northern Alberta. In all of the above works, Canada serves primarily as an isolated locale to help generate suspense and horror. It therefore comes as no surprise that these works reveal little about Canadian culture or lifestyles per se.

Yet another Englishman, Patrick Anderson, who resided in Canada for a number of years but returned to his native England, wrote about Canada. His critical following is chiefly Canadian, and he has therefore been labelled a "Canadian poet." However, the perspective in much of his poetry is consciously that of an observer, as the titles of his volumes of poetry suggest. *A Visiting Distance* (1976) and *Return to Canada* (1977) contain poems about World War II as well as impressions of Canada.

In his travel book *Canada and the Canadians* (1961), Alistair Horne seems to have made a concerted effort to set the record straight with respect to descriptions of Canada. In the foreword to his book, he indicates that "a number of the

post-war books about Canada were too starry-eyed to be of much help either to Canada or to the immigrants planning to make their homes there."[39] Horne argues that although he paints a less than ideal picture of the country, it is a more accurate image. Some recent British travelogues include Stephen Brook's *Maple Leaf Rag: Travels Across Canada* (1987) and Jan Morris' *City to City* (1990). Brook provides a whimsical look at regional idiosyncracies throughout Canada (e.g. the abundance of weddings in Cape Breton); Morris' book is a collection of essays originally published in *Saturday Night* magazine. It contains a good deal of humour in its discussion of Canadian urban areas, at times betraying a fondness for the "British" element in Canada.

In our survey of literature written about Canada by British writers over the last two centuries, it appears that the travelogue has been the most enduring genre, and this we shall see will also be the case with French and German literature. In a society that values the pragmatic over the ideal, and in which larger numbers of people travel to far off regions of the world, the travelogue has a staying power not easily displaced by imaginative or fictional literature.

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[39]Alistair Horne, *Canada and the Canadians*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1961. p.vii.

2. French Literature (1800-present)

Another European power with a vested interest in Canada was France; consequently some travel literature about Canada appeared before the nineteenth century. Probably the most important and influential early French works were the *Jesuit Relations* (*Relations des Jesuites* 1611-1672) and Baron de Lahonton's *Nouveaux voyages dans l'Amérique septentrionale* and his *Mémoires de l'Amérique septentrionale* (1703). Lahonton's "Voyages" and "Mémoires" were frequently republished and translated for European readers during the eighteenth century. During this time, even Voltaire wrote a story set in Canada; it was called *L'Ingénu: histoire véritable* and based on a Huron Indian. Canada has also been encapsulated (albeit it negatively) in the author's famous reference to the nation in *Candide* as "quelques arpens de neige."[40]

In general, nineteenth-century travel writers and novelists showed a greater interest in Canada than earlier and later authors. Like British literature about Canada, most French literature on the topic was published between the mid-nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth

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[40]This image of Canada is part of a paragraph describing England and France's battle over a section of North America: "Vous connaissez l'Angleterre, y est-on aussi fou qu'en France? --C'est une autre espèce de folie, dit Martin; vous savez que ces deux Nations sont en guerre pour quelques arpens de neige vers le Canada, & qu'elles dépensent pour cette belle guerre beaucoup plus que tout le Canada ne vaut." Voltaire, *Candide ou l'Optimisme*. Édition critique avec une introduction et et un commentaire. André Morize. Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1957. pp.171-2.

century. This fact also seems to explain why two critical studies about French perceptions of Canada deal with this particular period.[41] Chateaubriand is one of the great literary minds in France who alluded to Canada. In his novel *Atala* (1801) and in *Voyage en Amérique* (1827), he describes the Niagara Falls. The implied author of *Atala* says he reacted to the falls "avec un plaisir mêlé de terreur."[42] In his voluminous work *Génie du Christianisme* (1802), Chateaubriand addresses the impact of the Jesuits in Nouvelle France around 1649. According to the author "ils quittaient les délices de la patrie, pour aller, au prix de leur sang, révéler à un Barbare qu'ils n'avaient jamais vu... L'existence de Dieu et l'immortalité de l'âme."[43] Another nineteenth-century poet, Alfred de Vigny, whose intention of writing an extensive work about the fall of French Canada was never realized, wrote an essay entitled "Les Français au Canada" (1851?) which describes how France has forgotten the siege at Québec in 1759. He writes "Le long siège de Québec en 1759, où la

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[41]Armand Yon's *Le Canada français vu de France (1830-1914)* and Sylvain Simard's *Mythe et reflet de la France: L'image du Canada en France, 1850-1914)* (Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1987) concentrate on similar periods; however, Simard's work contains a much more extensive bibliography of fictional works and travel narratives.

[42]Chateaubriand, *Atala. René*. Ed. Pierre Reboul. Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1964. p.140.

[43]François-René de Chateaubriand, *Génie du christianisme ou beautés de la religion chrétienne* in *Essai sur les révolutions. Génie du christianisme*. Ed. Maurice Regard. Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1978. p.1010.

défense des Français fut glorieuse et désespérée, est un événement presque entièrement oublié de nos jours, comme semble l'être aussi de nous la nation canadienne tout entière."[44]

While many Frenchmen may have ignored the state of Canada after the British conquest, others still continued to travel to this region of the world. French travel literature includes works that focus on Indian culture like Louis Choris' *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde: avec des portraits de sauvages d'Amérique, d'Asie, d'Afrique, et des îles du Grand océan: des paysages, des vues maritimes, et plusieurs objets d'histoire naturelle* (1822), Philibert Dabry de Thiersant's *De l'origine des Indiens du Nouveau-monde et de leur civilisation* (1883) and Georges Demanche's *Au Canada et chez les Peaux-Rouges* (1890). Other travelogues include Xavier Marmier's *Lettres sur l'Amérique* (1851), le comte Arthur de Gobineau's *Voyage à Terre Neuve*, (1861), Jacques Offenbach's *Offenbach en Amérique. Notes d'un musicien en voyage* (1877), Christophe Allard's *Promenade au Canada et aux Etats-Unis* (1878), Ernest Avalle's *Notices sur les colonies anglaises* (1883), Charles Bigot's *De Paris au Niagara: journal de voyage d'une délégation* (1887), Henri de Lamothe's *Cinq mois chez les français d'Amérique. Voyage au Canada et à la rivière Rouge du nord* (1879), Valbert Chevillard's *Paysages canadiens* (1891)

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[44]Alfred de Vigny, "Les Français au Canada," *Oeuvres complètes*. Ed. F. Baldensperger. Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1948. p.863.

and Raymond Auzias-Turenne's *Voyage au pays des mines d'or: le Klondike* (1899). In addition to the publication of French travel literature, accounts by English travellers such as Alexander Mackenzie and Arctic explorer Sir John Franklin were translated into French.

As in British literature, it is very difficult to find literary masterpieces about Canada in French literature. With the exception of a work like Louis Hémon's *Maria Chapedelaine* (1916), the majority of the French fiction on Canada is adventure fiction of a historical and non-historical variety. Jules Verne wrote several novels set in Canada including *Voyages et aventures du Capitaine Hatteras* (1867), *Le pays des fourrures* (1873), *Le Volcan d'or*, (1906) and a historical novel about the 1837 rebellion in Lower Canada called *Famille-Sans-Nom* (1889). The latter novel is a striking contrast to his other novels set in the Northern or Arctic regions which are less socially and politically relevant. The most prolific nineteenth-century writer on the subject of Canada was probably Henri-Émile Chevalier, who was imprisoned for publishing an article critical of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte. He left France in 1851 to emigrate to New York, then moved to Montréal where he founded the journal *La Ruche littéraire*. However, since he eventually returned to Paris and many of his works were published in France, we will refer to him as a

European writer.[45] Chevalier wrote approximately twenty novels as part of a series called "Drames de l'Amérique du Nord," some of which were serialized in *La Ruche littéraire*. Several novels with "Canadian content" include *L'Île de sable* (1854), *Le Pirate du Saint-Laurent* (1859), *La Huronne: Scènes de la vie canadienne* (1862), and *La Fille des Indiens rouges* (1866).

Other nineteenth-century French novels set in Canada include *Gazida* (1860) by Xavier Marmier and *Les Bois-brûlés* (1875) by Gustave Aimard. In addition to French novels about Canada, some English texts like Frederick Marryat's *The Settlers in Canada* (*Les Colons du Canada*, trans.E.P. 1852) and Longfellow's famous ballad "Evangeline" were translated into French. Longfellow's poem was translated by French-Canadian writer Pamphile Le May[46] (and countless others) and adapted into a play by Louis de Grammont and G. Hartman [*Evangéline, Légende acadienne en 4 actes* (1895)].

The twentieth century marks a wane in French interest in travel literature about Canada. Typical examples of travelogues published during this time include Ernest Robert's

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[45]It is worth noting that Chevalier is not included in the *Dictionnaire des oeuvres des auteurs du Québec*, but is listed in the *Dictionnaire pratique des auteurs québécois* (1976) and in the *Dictionnaire des auteurs de langue française en Amérique du nord* (1989).

[46]Léon-Pamphile Le May also translated William Kirby's Canadian novel, *The Golden Dog (Le Chien d'Or), A Legend of Quebec* (1877). The French translation was called *Le Chien d'Or: légende canadienne* (Montréal, 1884).

Canada français et Acadie. Au pays de Maria Chapdelaine (1924), Henry Bordeaux's *Nouvelle et Vieille France. Une mission au Canada* (1934), Marie-Madelaine Charpentier's *Nos cousins de Québec* (1945) with a preface by Paul Valéry, Michel Tournier's *Journal de Voyage au Canada* (1984), and Dominique Barbe's *Le Canada à cheval: Du Saint-Laurent aux Rocheuses* (1987). Ernest Robert's book on Canada is interesting because of the link he makes between the country and the literary classic *Maria Chapdelaine*. In his introduction, the author intends to show how his book's view of French Canada will confirm the realistic portraits of Louis Hémon's "habitants" in rural Québéc:

> À ceux de nos lecteurs qui se sont passionés pour les obscures péripéties du roman de *Maria Chapdelaine*, notre ouvrage offrira mainte occasion de constater que les notations du touriste corroborent celles du romancier.[47]

Michel Tournier's travel diary is of particular interest because of his link between the concept of fiction and Canada. For Tournier, Canada exists primarily on an imaginative level has little to do with the existing reality which he has visited:

> Et puis, il n'y a pas qu'un Canada, il y en a deux. Celui où nous allons et l'autre, celui que nous portons dans notre coeur, le principal. Et ce que nous attendons du Canada où nous allons, c'est qu'il offre à l'autre – celui de notre coeur – le climat qui va lui

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[47]Ernest Robert, *Canada français et Acadie. Au pays de Maria Chapdelaine*. Paris: Pierre Roger et Cie, 1924. p.7.

> permettre d'éclore, de s'épanouir, de devenir une oeuvre, notre oeuvre.[48]

This concept of Canada as an imaginative possibility rather than a traveller's reality suggests that literature or the imagination can determine reality instead of merely reflecting it.

Twentieth-century French fiction about Canada has been produced by writers such as Joseph-Émile Poirier, (*Les Arpents de Neige*), Louis Hémon, Maurice Constantin-Weyer, Serge and Anne Golon, Bernard Clavel, Michel Butor, and Michel Desgranges. Several of these authors including Poirier, Constantin-Weyer and Michel Desgranges have concentrated on the Canadian West or Northwest. Poirier's historical novel *Les Arpents de Neige* (1900) deals with the Métis revolt in Saskatchewan in 1885. The work is interesting because its author never visited Canada, yet manages to capture the spirit of the Métis rebellion through the eyes of a Frenchman from France, the Métis, as well as the English-Canadian soldiers. Like Poirier, Constantin-Weyer focused on the Canadian west. Some of his works include *Vers l'Ouest* (1921), *Manitoba* (1924), *Un homme se penche sur son passé* (1928), for which he won the Prix Goncourt, *Clairière* (1929), *Un sourire dans la tempête* (1934) and an essay called "Au pays de Maria Chapdelaine." (1932). This author has been accused of

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[48]Michel Tournier, *Journal de voyage au Canada*. Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1984. p.20.

over-romanticizing Canada in his exotic, Rousseauesque descriptions of nature. Another French novel about Canada's western regions is Michel Desgranges' *Manitoba* (1981); this novel is more fictional in nature than Poirier's *Les Arpents de Neige* which remains relatively true to historical fact.

Before we comment on some more recent works about Canada by French writers, we must deal with Louis Hémon's *Maria Chapdelaine* (1916); this novel was frequently referred to by travel writers and other novelists in their portrayal of Canada. Although Hémon emigrated to Canada (never returning to France), he died only two years after his arrival, and for this reason has been classified as a French or as a French-Canadian writer, depending on the critical circles in question. Paulette Collet acknowledges that *Maria Chapdelaine* "a fait couler beaucoup d'encre et a largement contribué à la popularité du roman de la terre au Canada."[49] We will consider Louis Hémon's novel later in the course of this dissertation.

Two other twentieth-century French writers who have dealt with Canada in their fiction are Michel Butor and Bernard Clavel. Butor's novel *6 810 000 litres d'eau par seconde* (translated as *Niagara, a novel*) provides yet another vision of the famous falls which have proved to be of interest for so many travellers to Canada and the United States. The popular

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[49]Paulette Collet, *Les Romanciers français et le Canada*. Sherbrooke: Editions Naaman, 1984. p.66.

writer Bernard Clavel has several works about Canada to his credit. These include *L'Iroquoise* (1979), *Compagnons du Nouveau-Monde* (1981), *L'homme du Labrador* (1982) and six novels under the series name "Le Royaume du Nord."[50] *L'homme du Labrador* is the only one of these works not set in Canada; however, the main character conjures up vivid images of Labrador for the local people of Lyon.

Some of the best examples of popular historical fiction that deal with the New World are to be found in French literature. These include the *Angélique* stories by Serge and Anne Golon. Works such as *Angélique et le Nouveau Monde* (1967) and *Angélique à Québec* (1980) present Canadian settings or characters while using the conventions of romance and historical fiction. The *Angélique* novels depict exotic locations and have generated numerous translations and reprints. The appeal of popular fiction and the use of Canada's past (especially seventeenth-century New France) to provide an exotic ambiance echo the popularity of British adventure stories published during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The images of Canada presented in such popular fiction will be explored further in subsequent chapters.

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[50]The six novels of "Le Royaume du Nord" series are: *Harricana*, *L'Or de la terre*, *Miséréré*, *Amarok*, *L'angélus du soir* and *Maudits sauvages*.

3. German Literature (1800-present)

Unlike British and French traditions which generated more literature about Canada during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, German literature, especially fiction, does not reflect a marked interest in Canadian settings until the twentieth century.[51] This may be attributed in part to latent nationalism in Germany which did not fully express itself until the 1930s. German imperialism and the "Lebensraum" or expansionist ideology pervaded literary and political consciousness during this time. It is worth noting that some German fiction about North America was written during the nineteenth century; however, the more common object of study was usually the United States.[52] There were some German travellers to Canada during this time, but the majority

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[51]A famous statement about Canada was made by the eighteenth-century ruler, Frederick the Great (II) of Prussia. The king used Canada in a negative manner as a means of criticizing Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's innovative Sturm und Drang play *Götz von Berlichingen*. Frederick believed that this play was in keeping with certain public spectacles where "vous y verrez représenter les abominables pièces de Schakespear traduites en notre langue, et tout l'Auditoire se pâmer d'aise en entendant ces farces ridicules et dignes des Sauvages du Canada." Friedrich der Grosse, *De la littérature allemande*. Ed. Christoph Gutknecht und Peter Kerner. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1969. pp.60-61. Orig.published in 1780.

[52]See several critical texts about the image of America in German literature. Sigrid Bauschinger, et al. *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur: Neue Welt-Nordamerika-U.S.A.* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1975.), Alexander Ritter (ed) *Deutschlands literarisches Amerikabild* (Hildesheim:Georg Olms Verlag, 1977), and Paul C. Weber, *America in Imaginative German Literature in the first half of the nineteenth century* (New York: AMS Press, 1966). German novelists like Friedrich W.C. Gerstäcker, Karl May and Karl Postl ("Charles Sealsfield") wrote prolifically about the United States.

of them paid a brief visit to Canada as part of a trip to the United States. It was not until the twentieth century that Germans and other Europeans like the Italians, Scandinavians, and various Slavic speaking peoples began to perceive Canada as an independent country with economic opportunity or as a refuge from oppression.

Nineteenth-century travel journals about Canada include works like Bernard, Herzog zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach's *Reise Seiner Hoheit des Herzogs Bernard zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach durch Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1825 und 1826* (1828), Traugott Bromme's *Neuestes vollständigstes Hand-und Reisebuch für Auswanderer* (1847),[53] Johann Georg Kohl's *Kitschi-Gami, oder Erzählungen vom obern See* (1859), and Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg's *Kanada und Neu-Fundland* (1888). More substantial lists outlining descriptions of Canada's geographical, anthropological, cultural and social aspects may be found in articles by Hermann Boeschenstein and Paul Goetsch.[54] Many of these writers and twentieth-century authors obtained their information about Canada from translations of journals by British and French travellers like

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[53]Traugott Bromme, *Neuestes vollständigstes Hand- und Reisebuch für Auswanderer: aus allen Klassen und jedem Stande nach dem Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika, Texas, Ober- und Unter Canada, Neu Braunschweig, Neu-Schottland, Santo Thomas in Guatemala und der Mosquitoküsten*. Beyreuth: Büchner, 1847.

[54]Hermann Boeschenstein, "Is There a Canadian Image in German Literature?" *Seminar* 3, ii (Fall 1967) pp.1-20 and Paul Goetsch, "The Image of Canada in 19th Century German Travel Literature," *Deutschkanadisches Jahrbuch* 7 (1983) pp.121-135.

Alexander Mackenzie, Sir John Franklin, Samuel Hearne, Anna Brownell Jameson, Paul Kane, the Baron de LaHonton, Pierre Charlevoix, and François-René Chateaubriand.

During the nineteenth century, the United States was the primary object of study for German writers of fiction interested in North America, because it was at that time still a relatively unspoiled land and easily romanticized as authors like Friedrich W.C. Gerstäcker and Karl May discovered.[55] Many of these exotic German works about North America were influenced by James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales*.[56] Yet at least one great nineteenth-century literary personality wrote poetry with a Canadian setting. Nikolaus Lenau, who travelled to North America between 1832 and 1833, visited the Niagara Falls. His poetry can be studied in light of an earlier traveller to Canada, Johann Gottfried Seume, whose poem "Der Wilde" is perhaps the most often quoted example of German literature about Canada. ("'Seht, ihr

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[55]Gerstäcker spent at least a day in Canada as his essay "Ein Sonntag in Canada" (*Über Land und Meer* v.23, 1870, p.192.) shows and Karl May, perhaps the most popular German writer of adventure and North American Indian fiction, named one of his nefarious, cheating characters "Canada Bill" and describes the country as being "up there in the North" (p.12). May mentions the "Canadian River" (p.18) in one of his stories; however, the river lies in Oklahoma, not in Canada. Karl May, *Canada Bill*. Trans. Fred Gardner. London: Neville Spearman, 1971. May visited the United States in 1908, but this was after he had written most of his adventure fiction with American settings.

[56]Other European writers of adventure fiction like R.M. Ballantyne and Jules Verne were influenced by their reading of Cooper too.

fremden, klugen weißen Leute,/Seht, wir Wilden sind doch beßre Menschen!'")[57] Whether Lenau saw the American or the Canadian side of the falls is not clear, but his poems "Die Drei Indianer" (1834), "Der Indianerzug"(1834), "Der Urwald"(1836), "Niagara"(1838), "Das Blockhaus"(1838) and "Verschiedene Deutung"(1838) are indeed worth considering as examples of early German thoughts on North America. The first verse of "Verschiedene Deutung" conveys the impact of the falls on Lenau, who according to certain critics probably wrote the poem after returning to Germany:[58]

> Sieh, wie des Niagara Wellen
> Im Donnerfall zu Staub zerschellen,
> Und wie sie, sprühend nun zerflogen,
> Empfangen goldne Sonnenstrahlen
> Und auf den Abgrund lieblich malen
> Den farbendreichen Regenbogen.
> O Freund, auch wir sind trübe Wellen,
> Und unser Ich, es muß zerschellen,
> Nur stäubend in die Luft zergangen,
> Wird es das Irislicht empfangen.[59]

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[57]The first few lines of "Der Wilde" contrast the natural state of a Huron Indian with that of the civilized European:
"Ein Kanadier, der noch Europens
übertünchte Höflichkeit nicht kannte,
Und ein Herz, wie Gott es ihm gegeben,
Von Kultur noch frei, im Busen fühlte,
Brachte, was er mit des Bogens Sehne
Fern in Quebec übereisten Wäldern
Auf der Jagd erbeutet, zum Verkaufe." Johann Gottfried Seume, "Der Wilde," *Deutsche Dichtung im 18. Jahrhundert*. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1960. p.404.

[58]Scholars indicate that Lenau wrote primarily poems with European settings while travelling through America.

[59]Nikolaus Lenau, "Verschiedene Deutung," *Werke in einem Band*. Mit dem Essay "Der Katarakt" von Reinhold Schneider. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, 1966. pp.105-6.

As we mentioned at the outset of our discussion of German literature about Canada, the majority of the travelogues and fiction devoted solely to the study of Canada (and not in tandem with the United States) are to be found in the literature of the twentieth century. Much of the travel literature was written after the First World War in order to entice Germans to emigrate to Canada, especially to the Canadian prairies. Anton Mayer's *Kanada* (Berlin, Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1935) and Heinrich Hauser's *Kanada: Zukunftsland im Norden* (1941) are examples of this kind of literature. Other literature presented Canada as a hunter's paradise. Such books include Mehrhardt-Ihlow's *Ausgerechnet Canada: mit lachenden Jägeraugen durch Prärie und Busch* (1930), Hans Eipper's *Hundert Tage in den Rocky Mountains; mein Kanada-Erlebnis* (München: Piper, 1958) and Hans-Otto Meissner's *Wildes, rauhes Land: Reisen und Jagen im Norden Kanadas* (1969).[60] *Kanada pachnaca żywica* (1936) is a novel by the popular Polish writer Arkady Fiedler, which was also translated into German under the title *Harzduftendes Kanada* (1946). It depicts Canada as an exotic paradise and trapper's heaven. A very pragmatic view of Canada that reflects virtually no insight into the culture of Canada is provided by a Swiss writer, Jakob Stricker, in

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[60]I list these books here despite Hermann Boeschenstein's objections to the genre. In his article "Is There a Canadian Image in German literature," the noted Germanist thought it unwise to mention individual titles of books that "publicise[d] Canada above all as a hunter's paradise or a fisherman's Eldorado" (p.7). *Seminar* 3, ii (Fall 1967) pp.1-20.

Erlebnisse eines Schweizers in Kanada (1935). The book ends on a sour note with the disenchanted author returning to Switzerland after having lost several toes to frostbite. This work represents another extreme of books about Canada, diametrically opposed to more idealistic portraits of the country.

Although most of the literature in the German tradition seems to consist of travel reports, there are several novelists who wrote about Canada. We will mention four here; these include Kurt Riedel (*Durch Kanadas Wildnis*, 1943), Fred Larsen *Ticket nach Kanada* (1964), Ilse Schreiber and A.E. Johann. Riedel's and Larsen's works appeal to the reader fascinated with Canada's wilderness and wildlife. Larsen's male protagonist chooses to run away to Canada rather than the United States because in the latter country all the "wild Indians" have disappeared, whereas he is led to believe that in Canada some Indians still live in a wild, primitive state.

Ilse Schreiber and A.E. Johann have incorporated Canada into several of their works. Schreiber's books concentrate on the Canadian west or German settlers in the Prairies. She makes frequent reference to disillusioned settlers who were lured to Canada with the promise of economic prosperity. Doom and gloom frequently shape her depictions of Canada as well as a heavy emphasis on the superiority of German culture to anything "Canadian." Her novel *Die Schwestern aus Memel* (1936) and her collection of short stories *Kanadische Erzählungen*

(1941) stress the negative side of the Canadian experience and reflect some fascist ideology.[61] This fiction contrasts with her travelogue *Canada: Welt des Weizens* (1951) which is far more objective and more interested in promoting Canadian culture than German identity.

A.E. Johann, a pseudonym for A.E. Johann Wollschläger, has been incredibly prolific in his outpourings on the subject of Canada. He has been described as Germany's most beloved travel writer and has written travel accounts, historical novels and essays about Canada. Perhaps his most famous series is his Canadian trilogy that includes the novels *Ans dunkle Ufer* (1975), *Wälder jenseits der Wälder* (1976), and *Hinter den Bergen das Meer* (1979). Like other German authors he admits that he too has focused on Canada's wilderness.[62] Johann's

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[61]Both Ilse Schreiber and A.E. Johann's works seem to contradict Hermann Boeschenstein's remark that for Germans "reporting on Canada after the Second World War...Canada is now no longer eyed as a political hope or even a prize, as a piece in a crumbling Empire that might roll over to the German sphere of influence." Hermann Boeschenstein, "Is There A Canadian Image in German Literature?" p.8.

[62]The "Urwald" or the virgin forest seems to have held an incredible fascination for Germans in general, much more so than for the average British or French reader. A partial explanation for this phenomenon can be found in the historical perception of Germans as a "Volk ohne Raum" or people who lacked a clear referent for the place they occupied; because their territories were scattered and consisted of hundreds of small states, Germans had no national centre per se until the twentieth century. Another reason for the fascination with forests could be the result of the strong current of folk poetry during the eighteenth century (e.g. the folk songs collected by Herder) and the interest in more primitive peoples. This fascination was sustained in popular literature through writers such as Gerstäcker and Karl May.

works are certainly less superficial than Schreiber's; they reveal an interest in Canadian history (the early years of Canada and British North America), in geographical detail, and in the integration of Germans and their sense of identity in the country.

After surveying German literary impressions of Canada, we can safely say that as in British and French literature, travel books seem to have appealed to the reading public more than the fiction. To this day, the travel book about Canada enjoys great popular appeal in Germany (especially the picture book or coffee table book variety). Although fiction about Canada does exist, travel books are the genre which seem to continually sell as reprints or revised editions.

Summary

Having examined representative British, French and German texts that deal with Canada, we can conclude that British and French literature about the region seemed to flourish between the middle of the nineteenth century to the early part of the present century. For the English, Canada, like Britain's other colonies, was heavily promoted during the heyday of British imperialism. Consequently, many of the novels published during this time portray the English conquest of Québec in 1759 in order to feed this nationalistic pride and to encourage more Britons to settle in Canada. For the French, interest in Canada was to a large degree dependent on the historical strength of the Catholic church; as a result French visitors

to Canada tended to visit Québec or French Canada (including settlements in the Northwest) and novelists depicted these regions in their works with a strong emphasis on seventeenth-century New France.

While German travel accounts about Canada were also quite common during the nineteenth century, not all of the accounts focus solely on Canada. (This is also the case with some British and French travelogues, but there were still a fair number of individuals who visited only Canada). The majority of the trips to Canada by Germans seem to have been combined with travels to the United States; therefore, Canada is not always recognized as having its own character distinct from the American colonies. We must also realize that unlike Britain and France, Germany did not have a clear vested interest in Canada (except for the presence of German troops in eighteenth-century Nova Scotia who served under the Hannoverian British king George II).

Twentieth-century literature about Canada (both travelogues and fiction) seems to have waned within British and French literary sectors because of the new independent status of the country after Confederation and the First World War. British travelogues and fiction after the 20s counter the earlier exaggerations of the country as an economic paradise for potential emigrants; instead, Canadian regions are often used for dramatic effect to heighten suspense and the image of isolation. Contemporary French authors like Bernard Clavel

and Michel Tournier deal with modern Canada in a somewhat different way; Canada is not merely treated as a land of the Red man and Maria Chapdelaine, (as it was by many nineteenth-century writers); rather, it becomes a realm of imaginative space for fictional possibility. In general, it would appear that interest in Canada as an independent nation (with a large French community) is greater among the French than among the British for whom Canada has diminished in significance since it has shed its colonial status.

As the output of literature about Canada in England and France began to wane during the course of the twentieth century, interest in this country increased among Germans, Slavs, Scandinavians and Italians. For these Europeans, especially German-speaking peoples, Canada began to exist in its own right, separate and distinct from the United States. Moreover, its more primitive and unspoiled regions seemed to afford greater possibilities for the traveller and for the emigrant in search of economic security.

What British, French and German literatures share in their conception of Canada is the tendency to focus on the Canadian past and to deliberately de-emphasize any urban centres. Canadian spaces, forests, and the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century past are still frequently the subject of fiction about Canada during the twentieth century. This is in direct contrast to the images of Canada presented by many contemporary Canadian writers, who have dealt with matters as

varied as the fantastic, childhood experiences, urban life, metafiction, and feminist ideology.

Chapter Two: Foreigners in Canada: Emigrant Experiences in European Fiction

"The general body of emigrants may come in quest of employment; but it is always some contest with fortune, that forces elderly gentlemen into the bush: pride is the spur to emigration among all such."
John Galt, *Bogle Corbet*, p.88.

"Es wandert ohnehin niemand aus, der mit seiner Heimat und seinem Dasein einverstanden ist. Gemeinhin wandert einer aus, wenn ihm nichts weiter mehr übrigbleibt, als in einem neuen Land ein neues Leben zu beginnen."
A.E. Johann, *Ans dunkle Ufer*, p.189.

A study of European literary perceptions of Canada should not only analyze the depiction of native born Canadians, but also examine the interface between foreign settlers or European visitors with Canadian society. This chapter will initially discuss the role of British, French and German settlers in the history of Canadian settlement, briefly mention the impact of various propaganda campaigns and emigrant literature designed to attract Europeans to Canada, and then provide examples of British, French and German fiction which deal with the emigrant experience. The primary purpose of this chapter is to reveal how Canada is perceived by the fictional immigrant; our analysis of various novels will demonstrate that Canada is viewed both as a land of promise and as a grim disappointment. In addition, this study will illuminate the emigrant's struggle to find some middle ground between the Old World and the New. Since our selection of fiction is governed chiefly by the thematics of the emigrant experience, this chapter should indicate how the

three European literatures in question address similar concerns with respect to the immigrant in Canada. Yet despite our thematic emphasis on the portrait of the emigrant in literature, we will still make use of historical information concerning the European emigrant to help explain some of the literary depictions of the same.

Of course, one of the primary differences that exists between British, French and German novels about Canada is the fact that each literature is inclined to portray its own citizens as characters emigrating to Canada, and consequently highlights its own national and cultural impulses. However, despite this tendency, we intend to call attention to common approaches by British, French and German authors in their treatment of the European emigrant and his or her integration into Canadian society. In the course of this study, we will also have occasion to refer to the Canadian reception of the foreigner in fiction.

1. The Settlement of Canada by British, French and German Emigrants

Although the literary texts to be examined in this thesis belong to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is also necessary to discuss briefly some of the earlier years in Canada's history because the historical events of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries often constitute the subject matter of fiction published in subsequent centuries.

The earliest colonization of Canada (New France) was the result of French settlement.[63] After the transfer of Canada into British hands in 1760, French emigration to Canada declined. By this time, however, a French-Canadian population base had already been created which could sustain itself through natural increase. Britain's acquisition of Canada in turn initiated increased British immigration from the American colonies (British Empire Loyalists) as well as additional immigration from Europe in an attempt to anglicize the colony.[64] The British continued to enter the country over the next 150 years as a result of increased immigration propaganda and the promise of economic security. (The Irish potato famine of the late 1840s caused several hundred thousand Irish to emigrate to British North America.) When considering the early years of the British presence in Canada, we must also take into account the role of German military men/settlers who served under the Hannoverian British king George II during the Seven Years' War. These immigrants formed a large portion of the population of Nova Scotia towards the end of the eighteenth century, and were used to help counter the perceived threat of the French Canadians and Acadians.

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[63]Much of the information on the settlement of Canada has been selected from articles in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Second Edition. For example, see the articles on "Population" pp.1719-20 and "Québec," pp.1793-1802.

[64]The low number of French emigrants entering Canada after the seventeenth century helps explain the relatively few studies devoted to French immigration in Canada, as compared to multiple studies on British immigration.

The period from 1815/30 to 1914 marks the heyday of British immigration to Canada. Nevertheless, during this time there were still lapses in emigration to Canada despite vigorous campaigning on the part of emigration societies;[65] however, it is still a historical period marked by numerous fictional works and travelogues about Canada. In his book *The British Immigrant: His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1935), Carl A. Dawson indicates that up until 1850, immigration to Canada from Britain was determined largely by conditions in European countries, such as the displacement of workmen by the Industrial Revolution[66], while the period between 1850-1914 was influenced by the conditions in North America (e.g. the need for more agricultural workers, and the completion of the Canadian Transcontinental Railway which opened the way to the Canadian West). Between the years 1904 and 1914 alone, Canada received about a million British immigrants.[67] Yet studies

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[65]In their book *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), Doug Owram and R.G. Moyles note that despite the great dissemination of literature in Britain about Canada, this country sent the fewest emigrants to the West: "Perhaps it would not be going too far to suggest that the multiplicity of views, the overabundance of emigration literature, was a drawback rather than an advantage. For it is true that the most literate country being courted, and therefore the one in which both pros and cons were widely debated, sent the fewest emigrants to the West; far fewer than many smaller, more illiterate countries in eastern Europe." p.139.

[66]*The British Immigrant*, p.9.

[67]*The British Immigrant*, p.43.

such as Dawson's have shown that unlike some of the Central and Eastern European immigrants, British settlers in Canada did not contribute significantly to agricultural activities, one of Canada's main reasons for initially encouraging immigration.

According to Dawson, the post-1918 period reflected a reluctance on the part of the New World to receive additional immigrants; yet after the Second World War, increased immigration stemmed from German speaking and Eastern European countries - a trend which also marked an increasing literary interest in Canada from this European sector. During this time most of the British immigrants moved to urban areas in Canada, leaving the settlement of the West to Scandinavians, Germans and Eastern Europeans.[68]

Unlike British immigration, which enjoyed a definite surge during parts of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, French emigration to Canada is best defined by its scarcity. Immigrants from France during this period account for only a small proportion of the total immigrant population. According to Bernard Penisson's study "L'Émigration française au Canada (1882-1929)," "l'émigration de France à destination du Canada représente fort peu de chose" - a mere 0.95% of the total

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[68]Donald Avery states that between 1925 and 1930, 185,000 Central European immigrants came to Canada under the terms of the Railway agreement. Donald Avery, *"Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd, 1979. p.101.

number of immigrants who came to Canada between 1901 and 1910.[69] Even with the determined efforts of Québec during the 1870s to attract French emigrants to Canadian regions such as Québec and the Canadian North-West, Québec's "high hopes of large numbers from France, Belgium and Switzerland were sadly disappointed. None of these races were emigration-minded in the British sense."[70] Some of the factors behind this phenomenon may be attributed to the negative attitude of French officials and agencies towards emigration to Canada. The claims of earlier emigration societies promising economic prosperity had prejudiced later generations of French against Canada and resulted in the painting of a bleaker picture than the actual experiences of French immigrants in Canada warranted. In his report, Bernard Penisson points out how Canadian immigration agencies in France were repeatedly closed down. Even the Canadian campaign to attract agricultural workers to Canada between 1882 and 1929 met with little success in France, since the members of the French rural population seemed to prefer their own soil to a foreign one; furthermore, it was genuinely felt that Western Canada "était un pays perdu où les Français ne pourraient jamais

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[69]Bernard Penisson, "L'Émigration française au Canada (1882-1929)," *L'Émigration française. Études de cas. Algérie - Canada - Etats-Unis*. (Centre de Recherches d'histoire nord-américaine). Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1985. p.51. pp.51-106.

[70]Norman Macdonald, *Canada: Immigration and Colonization 1841-1903*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1966. pp.99-100.

s'acclimater."[71] Even the literature of the early twentieth century, such as *Maria Chapdelaine*, *Un homme se penche sur son passé*, and *La Pointe-aux-rats*, carries a rather negative message to the French emigrant on settlement in Canada.[72]

During the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century, German emigration to Canada was also rather low. Most Germans chose the United States as their new world home despite the effort Canada made in 1873 to promote its regions.[73] Norman Macdonald indicates that next to the British Isles, Germany was the most important source of emigration to the New World.[74] Between the years 1820 and 1854 alone, six million Germans emigrated to the U.S.,[75] whereas up to 1847, only a few hundred had arrived in Canada. Apparently reports of poor land and adverse conditions in Canada quickly made their way back to Germany "to prejudice immigrants against Canada."[76] In addition, the United States was associated with the principles of freedom and the doctrine

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[71]Raoul Dandurand, *Mémoires*, Québec, P.U.L. 1967, p.143 as cited in Penisson p.65.

[72]Penisson concludes that "au total, les romans célèbres véhiculent une image plutôt négative de la colonisation au Canada, à cause surtout de la rigueur et de la longueur des hivers." "L'Émigration française au Canada". p.72.

[73]*Canada: Immigration and Colonization*, p.35.

[74]*Canada: Immigration and Colonization*, p.213.

[75]*Canada: Immigration and Colonization*, p.213.

[76]*Canada: Immigration and Colonization*, p.215.

of Republicanism, while Canada retained links to the English monarchy.

The incredible emigration of Germans to the United States before and during the nineteenth century explains in part why most German writers of travelogues and fiction chose the United States over Canada as their subject matter. It is only after the first few decades of the twentieth century (as mentioned in Chapter One) that German literature about Canada was produced in any great quantity. This fact, of course, coincides with an increased interest in Canada's available land and pristine landscape as a destination for would-be emigrants, and as an exotic subject for the literati.

Our introductory comments on British, French and German immigration trends in Canada suggest that each nation experienced its own particular emigration fervour during the course of Canada's history. The earliest settlers were the French, followed by the British, whose immigration into the country was of a more dramatic and prolonged nature. The Germans first reached Canada during the mid-seventeenth century, but mass immigration into the country did not take place until the early part of the twentieth century (between 1918 and the late 1950s). Over the last thirty years, the profile of Canada's immigration has changed even more radically as it has moved from a European base to an Asian/Third World one. This sociological factor may help

explain the substantial decline in European fiction about Canada since the early twentieth century.

2. British Fiction and the Immigrant in Canada

Nineteenth and early twentieth-century novels set in Canada (particularly the boys' adventure stories) may depict a British character visiting Canada for several years, but eventually returning to his mother country. This representation of the "failed immigrant" is indeed worthy of examination here, and will once again, we hope, underscore our thesis that the European writer paradoxically sympathizes with European civilization even though he appears to advocate the emigration of Europeans to Canada. (This is especially the case in Marryat's *The Settlers in Canada*.) When analyzing the fiction of emigration published in Britain during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, we find a superficial tendency to encourage emigration, despite several setbacks experienced by the characters in the novels. However, two books clearly stand out as an exception to this general trend and we should consider them briefly before moving on to the more typical British text about Canada. The texts in question are John Galt's *Bogle Corbet* (1831) and Susanna Moodie's *Roughing it in the Bush: Of Forest Life in Canada* (1852). Both are semi-autobiographical works based on the authors' experiences in the Canada. John Galt was a Scottish writer who came to Canada in 1825 and 1826 as a land agent and

made frequent attempts to colonize areas of Upper and Lower Canada before returning to London where he was sent to debtor's prison. In *Bogle Corbet*, Galt presents the pragmatic difficulties of settling in Upper Canada during the 1820s. Like the author, the protagonist of the story, Bogle Corbet, experiences the negative side of emigration. He points out that many of the problems associated with colonizing Canada are related both to the emigrants who leave their country too late in life and to the class of the emigrants. For example, the novel suggests that neither the gentleman nor the townsperson makes a suitable candidate for emigration. The latter is "the least fitted to endure with complacency the vicissitudes and privations of a forest-life."[77] In addition, the novel advances the idea that settlers of the same national origin should not settle together, because this only breeds laziness and complacency. The novel concludes with the warning that emigration is for the young:

> Emigration should be undertaken at that period when youths are commonly sent to trades and professions: the hardships are too heavy an apprenticeship for manhood, and to riper years penalty and privation.[78]

Like Bogle Corbet and John Galt, Susanna Moodie also weathered some trying times in Canada. Born in England, she emigrated to Canada in 1832 and spent the rest of her life in

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[77]John Galt, *Bogle Corbet*. Ed. Elizabeth Waterston. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977. p.122.

[78]*Bogle Corbet*, p.163.

the colony. Yet her book *Roughing it in the Bush* was published in 1852 in London, and like much of her writing in the Canadian periodical the *Literary Garland*, this work was "Old World English in manner."[79] The book was therefore received more favourably by British than by Canadian audiences. Potential emigrants were told of unpleasant conditions awaiting British settlers in Canada.

In the introduction to the first edition of her work, Moodie attacks emigration agents for misrepresentation and holds them responsible for the misery experienced by emigrants in Canada:

> Its salubrious climate, its fertile soil, commercial advantages, great water privileges, its proximity to the mother country, and last, not least, its almost total exemption from taxation – that bugbear which keeps honest John Bull in a state of constant ferment – were the theme of every tongue, and lauded beyond all praise. The general interest, once excited, was industriously kept alive by pamphlets, published by interested parties, which prominently set forth all the *good* to be derived from a settlement in the Backwoods of Canada; while they carefully concealed the toil and hardship to be endured in order to secure these advantages. They told of lands yielding forty bushels to the acre, but they said nothing of the years when these lands, with the most careful cultivation, would barely return fifteen; when rust and smut, engendered by the vicinity of damp overhanging woods, would blast the fruits of the poor emigrant's labour, and almost deprive him of bread. They talked of log houses to be raised in a single day, by the generous exertions of friends and neighbours,

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[79]Susanna Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush: Of Forest Life in Canada*. Introduction by Carl F. Klinck. General Editor, Malcolm Ross. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1962. New Canadian Library Edition. p.xi.

> but they never ventured upon a picture of the disgusting scenes of riot and low debauchery exhibited during the raising, or upon a description of the dwellings when raised – dens of dirt and misery, which would, in many instances, be shamed by an English pig-sty. The necessaries of life were described as inestimably cheap; but they forgot to add that in remote bush settlements, often twenty miles from a market town, and some of them even that distance from the nearest dwelling, the necessaries of life which would be deemed indispensable to the European, could not be procured at all, or, if obtained, could only be so by sending a man and team through a blazed forest road – a process far too expensive for frequent repetition....(xvi)
>
> Men who had been hopeless of supporting their families in comfort and independence at home, thought that they had only to come out to Canada to make their fortunes; almost even to realize the story told in the nursery, of the sheep and oxen that ran about the streets, ready roasted, and with knives and forks upon their backs. They were made to believe that if it did not actually rain gold, that precious metal could be obtained, as is now stated of California and Australia, by stooping to pick it up.(xvii)

The above warnings were unfortunately not heard by a large number of British emigrants from the gentry or upper classes – these very individuals experienced additional hardship because they were not suited to agricultural life. Many British emigrants who came to Canada had quite a different image of the region in mind, partly as a result of quaint images of farming and domestic life depicted by writers for British magazines like the *Boy's Own* and *Girl's Own Papers*.

This phenomenon of the upper class British emigrant encountering the difficulties referred to by Susanna Moodie is

not underscored to the same degree in *The Settlers in Canada*. Frederick Marryat's novel depicts the emigration of a British family to Canada during the 1790s as a result of a loss of fortune. The narrator, however, suggests at the very outset of the tale, that many of the risks undergone by this fictional family (e.g. the threat of Indians) are not typical of the present conditions (1840s) for emigrants in Canada:

> It must, however, be recollected, that to emigrate and settle in Canada was, at that time [1794], a very different affair to what it is now. The difficulty of transport, and the dangers incurred, were much greater, for there were no steamboats to stem the currents and the rapids of the rivers; the Indians were still residing in Upper and many portions of Lower Canada, and the country was infested with wild animals of every description – some useful, but many dangerous: moreover, the Europeans were fewer in number, and the major portion of them were French, who were not pleased at the country having been conquered by the English...I mention all this, because things are so very different at present: and now I shall state the cause which induced this family to leave their home, and run the risks and dangers which they did.[80]

One might ask why Marryat decided to describe the Canada of 1794 instead of the more current state of the colony. In theory, potential emigrant readers should have been more interested in the current state of affairs than in a historical past. Yet this apparently was not the case for the British reading audience who devoured these tales of adventure. Given this fact, the purpose of Marryat's book is

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[80]Captain (Frederick) Marryat, *The Settlers in Canada*. London: Collins' Clear-Type Press, 1844? p.5.

therefore twofold: by situating his novel in the past, he allows himself the literary freedom of writing an exotic adventure story which would appeal to the juvenile audience of his time; yet at the same time, he indirectly assures would-be emigrants that any dangers or inconveniences experienced by the British emigrant in Canada belong to the past.

The story itself is ambivalent in that the British family in question, the Campbells, appear to prosper in Canada and even encourage the emigration of additional emigrants into their community in Upper Canada; however, at the end of the novel, most of the family members return to England after having regained their lost fortune. Only a single individual (John) remains in Canada, and the novel makes clear that this boy has distanced himself from the civilized manners of his British relatives by choosing to stay with his surrogate father, a Canadian trapper Malachi Bone.

Throughout the novel, some of the dangers faced by the Campbells include an attack by the French on their merchant ship, and the kidnapping of two family members by Indians. The family's spirits sink early on as they are told that the best land has been taken by French Canadians; consequently they will have to move to a more isolated settlement in Upper Canada. The Governor of Quebec recommends the services of an unruly trapper by the name of Martin Super to help the new arrivals adapt to the new land. His willingness to engage in steady, active and brave service is contrasted with that of

the Canadians (here, as in most nineteenth century English and French fiction a synonym for French Canadians):"As for the Canadians, they are very harmless, but at the same time very useless. There are exceptions, no doubt; but their general character is anything but that of activity and courage."[81] This negative view of the native born Canadian adds impetus to the suggestion in the novel that the British immigrant is industrious and resourceful.

With the help of Martin Super and the taciturn trapper Malachi Bone, the Campbells construct their home and even manage to convert an Indian girl by the name of Strawberry Plant to Christianity. The Christian or, more precisely, Protestant message is stressed throughout *The Settlers in Canada* and acts as a means of contrasting the civilized nature of the Europeans with the rough, primitive and ungodly conduct of certain savages and wild backwoodsmen like Malachi Bone. The Campbells also appear to be rewarded in the end for their Christian outlook on life – a compensation for the dangers incurred in Canada. Their fortune in England is restored which

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[81]*The Settlers in Canada*, p.45. This image of the lazy French Canadian seems to corroborate an early representation of the French Canadian in an eighteenth-century novel *The History of Emily Montague* by British writer Frances Brooke: "...the lazy creatures leave the greatest part of their land uncultivated, only sowing as much corn of different sorts as will serve themselves...Idleness is the reigning passion here, from the peasant to his lord;..."(p.59) "...they are so indolent as never to manure their lands, or even their gardens;...till the English came, all the manure of Quebec was thrown into the river" (p.60). *The History of Emily Montague*, Ed. Malcolm Ross. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1961. New Canadian Library Edition based on the 1784 edition.

permits them to return to the mother country. They therefore leave their farm in charge of their son John who has acquired some of the habits of the "uncivilized" Canadian, Malachi Bone. Thus Marryat's book carries an ambivalent attitude towards Canada. On the one hand, it is presented as a colony in need of additional British immigration, and as a colourful place for young boys with an adventurous spirit; but for the more "fortunate" Briton, it is only a trial ground, a rite of passage; a return to "Old England" is still the ultimate reward or dream for the morally upright British settler. Furthermore, the novel suggests that if a Briton plays his cards right, he may eventually be able to return to his homeland while keeping a farm in Canada. In Marryat's novel Canada is only meant to be taken seriously as a permanent destination for wild sons like John who dwell on the margins of society. In this respect, *The Settlers of Canada* is a typical product of the "colonial discourse."

Like nineteenth-century British novels about Canada which depict the reluctance of Britons to settle in the country permanently, *Wedlock's the Devil* also deals with the possibility of its main character Rachel Ambrose contemplating a return to Britain after spending some time in Canada. Margaret Bullard's story (set in the 1940s) begins with a British woman, Rachel Ambrose, emigrating to Canada in order to join her formally estranged husband Denis, a professor of

anthropology. At the outset, Rachel welcomes her departure from England and her entry into a New World:

> Only a few more hours, and then good-bye to the *Plutonic*, good-bye to the bedraggled emigrants, the seasick mothers, the grubby squalling children, good-bye to the stinking stews of Europe, good-bye forever. And hail Unknown Land of Promise looming out there in the dark![82]

Unfortunately this positive outlook on Canada is shortlived. Throughout the book the reader is led to believe that Rachel regrets her trip to Canada and intends to return to England. Older English immigrants in the Ontario town of New Glasgow insist that Rachel will never settle. She feels increasingly isolated as her husband's reputation as an anthropologist grows due to the discovery of a dig at Denmanville. However, by the end of the novel, Rachel and Denis are in love once again and Rachel seems resolved to remain in Canada.

Wedlock's the Devil also contains another storyline which involves the love relationship of a certain Fanny Mowbray with a psychiatrist Otto Schlamm, the ensuing jealousy of Fanny's friend Beulah Gregg, and eventual suicide of the latter. Beulah's suicide along with Rachel's interaction with Mona Cowan, an entrepreneur, seem to paradoxically result in a positive turnabout for Rachel in terms of her adjustment to the community of New Glasgow.

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[82]Margaret Bullard, *Wedlock's the Devil*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1951. Ch.1. p.5.

Though important, Rachel's immigrant experiences are not the only ones which shed light on the British/Canadian interface in the novel. Other inhabitants of the community, including European immigrants, make remarks which provide various images of Canada: "In Canada when you are told to relax (and you often are) it is always an invitation to have a drink,"[83] "to marry an Englishman was the ambition of every Canadian girl,"[84] and "Canadians simply can't believe their own people are as good as Englishmen or Americans...No one in Canada has the slightest opinion of women."[85] These comments as filtered through the minds of foreigners in Canada point to a perceived difference in the Canadian mentality from the European one. A Canadian character, Mona Cowan also instructs Rachel in the different values of Canadian/North American society, when Rachel is reluctant to charge a needy family for violin lessons. Mona states: "'On this side of the Atlantic people are brought up to value things in proportion to what they have cost. Ergo, what costs nothing is worth nothing.'"[86] This enterprising spirit of Mona's is also indicative of the prosperity of the Jewish community in New Glasgow, a factor which leads to many anti-Semitic comments on

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[83]Margaret Bullard, *Wedlock's the Devil*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1951. Chapter 2, p.25.

[84]*Wedlock's the Devil*, Ch.2. p.28.

[85]*Wedlock's the Devil*, Ch.2. p.37.

[86]*Wedlock's the Devil*, Ch.4. p.63.

the part of Harris Mowbray, a Canadian of Scots heritage: "'The Jews in this town are getting out of hand.'"[87]

Even a cursory look at *Wedlock's the Devil* reveals that the author has made more of an attempt to understand the workings of a Canadian society, than the authors of earlier imperialistic fiction like Marryat or Ballantyne. Unlike many of the characters in British adventure novels, the character in Bullard's work actually remains in Canada and becomes part of the New Glasgow community. The novel is free of the heady romanticism and idealism characteristic of the earlier brand of British fiction about Canada, even though much attention is still paid to the British mentality.

3. German Fiction and the Immigrant in Canada

Like much of the British literature which encouraged Britons to emigrate to Canada, German literature also reflects idealistic images of the country as a land of promise for the potential foreign settler. This image is of course countered by depictions of disillusioned German immigrants whose life in Canada is rife with difficulty. Still other works, like those of A.E. Johann present us with a more moderate view of German emigrants who hold on to some of their German identity while also integrating themselves into the "Canadian" or "French-Canadian" culture.

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[87]*Wedlock's the Devil*, Ch.2. p.17.

A fictional sketch which belongs to the first category of fiction about Canada, the idyllic or idealistic, is a short prose piece by Friedrich Gerstäcker, the prolific German writer of adventure stories set in foreign lands, especially the United States. His work "Ein Sonntag in Canada. Skizze von Friedrich Gerstäcker," is full of idyllic images suggestive of the German Romantics. The scene is a settlement in the woods of Canada, and the main focus is the portrayal or detailed description of a Scottish/English family engaged in a Sunday Service. The scene is viewed and described by a German hunter in the Canadian forest who is enchanted by this solemn, idyllic picture. The home of these settlers is in fact viewed as a miniature paradise:

> Land war durch die kräftigen Arme der beiden Männer, denen der derbe Junge schon recht gut an die Hand gehen konnte, zur Genüge urbar gemacht und bestellt worden: der Vieh-, Hühner-, und Schweinezucht hatten sich die Frauen angenommen, die Milchwirtschaft überwachte die Großmutter, und mit wohnlichen und warmen Blockhäusern versehen, um selbst einem canadischen Winter Trotz zu bieten, hatten sie sich hier mitten in der Wildnis ein kleines Paradies geschaffen.[88]

The narrator also provides some interesting commentary on the differences between various ethnic groups. According to the German observer, the Irish emigrants in the United States, though hardworking, shun a domestic environment and prefer to pilfer their earnings away at taverns. The Scottish or English

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[88]Friedrich Gerstäcker, "Ein Sonntag in Canada. Skizze von Friedrich Gerstäcker," *Ueber Land und Meer. Allgemeine Illustrierte Zeitung* 23 (1870) p.193.

emigrants in Canada, on the other hand, tend to be more family oriented: "Beide kennen und lieben das Wort *home* oder Heimat und richten sich dieselbe freundlich ein."[89] In addition, the German narrator distinguishes between the discreet behaviour of the English and Scots and the more intrusive, curious nature of the American Yankee:

> Hier zeigte sich auch deutlich wieder der Unterschied zwischen Canada und den südlicher gelegenen Vereinigten Staaten, denn ein echter Yankee oder selbst Backwoodsman würde dem Fremden nicht eher ruhe gelassen haben, bis er mit zwanzig, allerdings gutmüthig gemeinten Fragen seine ganze Lebensgeschichte und besonders woher, wohin und weßhalb erfahren hätte. Hier dagegen frug ihn kein Mensch, wie er heiße, wohin er wolle, woher er komme.[90]

The short narrative ends with the German narrator settling in the vicinity of the British family (the Browns) six months later to work on his own farm. He eventually marries Mary Brown, "ein braves Weib," and finds "eine stille, sorgenfreie Häuslichkeit."[91]

Many German works from the twentieth century are not as idyllic as Gerstäcker's prose piece. For example, Fred Larsen's *Ticket nach Kanada* (1964) provides a more cynical view of the foreigner's experience in Canada. The main character, Peter, a young ne'er-do-well, dreams of travelling to America to escape a mundane life in Germany. After much

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[89]"Ein Sonntag in Canada," p.192.

[90]"Ein Sonntag in Canada," p.193.

[91]"Ein Sonntag in Canada," p.193.

reading, he discovers "das riesige Reich Kanada" which fuels his "Sehnsucht nach Freiheit und Romantik."[92] However, once he actually arrives in Canada along with other German emigrants he begins to realize the law of the land which distinguishes it from the polished manners of Europe: "Hier heißt es aufspringen oder zurückbleiben, leben oder verderben."[93] In the course of the novel, Peter is rendered penniless, becomes a tramp and a criminal, and is sent to jail. When he gets out of prison, he is eventually hired by an engineering firm during a building boom in Saskatchewan. The novel ends with Peter commenting: "So etwas ist nur in Amerika möglich, das in der Tat das Land der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten geblieben ist...."[94] He also mentions that he still reads the fiction of James Fenimore Cooper, and identifies with the adventurous spirit of his heroes, but has left his Romantic ideals behind him: "Aber ich habe die Romantik von gestern nicht geheiratet."[95] In short, he has literally become a man of the future in Canada, the land of future possibility.

Other novels in German literature are not as optimistic as Gerstäcker's and Larsen's. Emil Droonberg's *Die Goldwäscher*

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[92]Fred Larsen, *Ticket nach Kanada*. Stuttgart: Union Verlag Stuttgart, 1964. p.17.

[93]*Ticket nach Kanada*, p.45.

[94]*Ticket nach Kanada*, p.240.

[95]*Ticket nach Kanada*, p.244.

am Klondike: Roman aus der Zeit der großen Goldfunde in Kanada und Alaska (1963) deals with the gold fever that lured countless starry-eyed emigrants to Northern Canada and Alaska in the late 1890s. The main character of the novel is a German-American reporter who becomes involved in the plight of a young American girl from San Francisco. This girl travels north to see her father, unaware of the fact that he died shortly after acquiring a gold deposit in the Yukon. Much of the novel describes the deluded gold-seekers, many of whom starve to death in an unkind land ("Wer kümmerte sich aber um den Schwachen in diesem Lande?"[96]) Others return to their homeland despondent and downtrodden:

> So fremd und freundlos, wie sie gekommen waren, verließen sie das Land wieder. Ohne Schmerz schieden sie von ihm, denn es hatte sie in den gleißenden Hoffnungen, die es ihnen vorgegaukelt hatte, elend betrogen. Arm und entmutigt und eine sorgenvolle Zukunft vor Augen, zogen sie jetzt wieder heim, um in der Zivilisation, die kaum weniger grausam und seelenlos ist als der eisige Norden hier oben, den Kampf mit dem Leben wieder aufzunehmen.[97]

This rather bleak view of disillusioned gold-seekers is an apt representation of the reality of the Klondike gold-rush, also depicted in James Michener's Canadian novel *Journey*.[98]

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[96]Emil Droonberg, *Die Goldwäscher am Klondike: Roman aus der Zeit der großen Goldfunde in Kanada und Alaska*. Aschaffenburg: Paul Pattloch Verlag, 1963. p.62.

[97]*Die Goldwäscher am Klondike*, pp.245-6.

[98]James Michener, *Journey*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988.

Ilse Schreiber

Let us now consider another little known German writer, Ilse Schreiber, whose work also addresses the lot of German emigrants in Canada. Schreiber was born in 1888 and wrote several novels on the subject of Canada. Because she wrote during the period that witnessed the rise of Hitler in Germany, her fiction is ideologically motivated, the ramifications of which we will examine more closely in the next chapter. Her other works on Canada include *Die Schwestern aus Memel* (1936), *Die Flucht ins Paradies* (1938), *Kanadische Erzählungen* (1941), *Der Gott der fremden Erde* (1943), and a travelogue, *Canada: Welt des Weizens* (1951).[99] The two works which best illustrate the tension between old and new world orders are *Die Schwestern aus Memel*, a novel and *Kanadische Erzählungen*, a collection of short stories.[100] It is of interest to note that Schreiber did not undertake a tour of Canada until 1937,[101] therefore *Die Schwestern aus Memel*

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[99]*Canada: Welt des Weizens* was originally published in 1943 under the title *Die Welt des Weizens und der Tränen: Mein kanadisches Tagebuch*, Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1943.

[100]In the course of this dissertation we will focus on these two works by Ilse Schreiber because they best reflect the tendency in German literature to emphasize the German experience at the expense of Canadian culture. Citing passages from Schreiber's other fiction would be superfluous.

[101]"1934 schrieb sie [Schreiber] ihr erstes großes Kanadawerk 'Die Schwestern aus Memel.' Der Erfolg dieses sowie eines weiteren Volksbuchs 'Großes Spiel in Mengerssen' führte sie 1937 auf ihre große Studienreise durch das ganze Kanada bis in die verstreuten Siedlungen der Wildnis und bis zu den Eskimos nach Alaska hinauf." Editorial note, *Der Gott der*

must be considered largely in light of any second hand accounts she received of the country rather than first hand experience.

Both *Die Schwestern aus Memel* and *Kanadische Erzählungen* deal with the German emigrant's experience in Canada. The emigrants in question are those who left Germany after the First World War in order to make a new life for themselves in Canada, "das Land der Zukunft."[102] Schreiber addresses the shattered illusions of these emigrants, as well as the difficulties faced by these settlers in the harsh Canadian climate much in the same way Susanna Moodie describes the plight of the British emigrant in Canada during the nineteenth century. The glowing promises of economic prosperity circulated by the Canadian propaganda offices in Europe (sometimes in conjunction with missionary societies like the Lutheran Colonization Board, Lutheran Immigration Board and German Catholic Immigration Board) lured many Germans and other Europeans to Canada, but more often than not (as many critics have indicated) these promises were not fulfilled:

> Die Nachkriegszeit brachte dann Tausende von deutschen Volksgenossen nach Kanada, welche den verlockenden Angeboten der Schiffahrtslinien und der kanadischen Eisenbahnen Glauben schenkten und sich der trügerischen Hoffnung hingaben, beim Betreten des Landes neuzeitlich

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fremden Erde. Hamburg: Deutsche Hausbücherei, 1943. (no page number)

[102]Ilse Schreiber, *Die Schwestern aus Memel: Ein Kanada-Roman*. "Zeitgeschichte." Berlin: Verlag und Vertriebs-Gesellschaft m.b.H. 1936. p.32.

> eingerichtete große Güter vorzufinden. Die armen Menschen glaubten um so mehr daran, als eine kanadische Missionsgesellschaft mit ihrem weniger seelsorgerisch, als geschäftlich tüchtigen Verwaltungsapparat Hand in Hand mit den Eisenbahn- und Schiffahrtslinien zusammenarbeitete. Man versprach indessen viel und hielt wenig. So ist es nicht verwunderlich, daß es Enttäuschte gibt, die trotz der unermeßlichen Weite des Landes oft nicht wissen, wo sie ein Obdach finden und ihren Hunger stillen sollen.[103]

The above description of the German emigrant's situation in Canada is echoed in Schreiber's *Die Schwestern aus Memel* and *Kanadische Erzählungen*. The action of the former work oscillates between a German household in Memel, which is today Lithuania,[104] to St. Walburg, Saskatchewan. The novel operates on a system of parallels between the life of one sister, Luise Jeep in Memel (who is caught up in the pro-German folk movement), and the adventures of Lenka Jeep who emigrates with her parents to Saskatchewan.

Schreiber's initial image of Canada in *Die Schwestern aus Memel* is that of a country which promises a new life. Canada is presented as a promised land for Lithuanian Germans who

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[103]Karl Gerhard, "Erwachendes Deutschtum in Kanada," *Wir Deutsche in der Welt*. Ed. Verband Deutscher Vereine im Ausland e.V. Berlin: Verlagsanstalt Otto Stollberg G.m.b.h., 1935. p.77.

[104]Memel belonged to Prussia until 1919, when it was placed under French administration through the Treaty of Versailles. In 1924, Memel became an autonomous region of Lithuania, was returned to Germany in 1939 and reverted to Lithuania in 1945. For the characters in Schreiber's novel, however, there is no doubt as to the German character of the region.

have been rejected by the country to which they owe their affiliation:

> Kanada, bedenken Sie, ist das Land der Zukunft. Das einzige Land, in dem man nach kurzer Zeit als freier Mann auf seiner Scholle leben kann. Was lassen Sie hier schon zurück, lieber Herr Jeep? Ich bin doch auch nur gegangen, weil die deutsche Heimat mir ein bescheidenes Leben durch Arbeit auf eigenem Grund und Boden versagte.[105]

The family Jeep is thus lured to Canada because of its newness and because of their disappointment with how the "alte Heimat" has treated them, an allusion to the Weimar Republic and the economic depression. They want to make Canada a "neue Heimat," and their minds are filled with illusions of profit and success in a new land. In this regard, disseminators of Canadian propaganda reinforce their illusions by encouraging them to settle in the Canadian Prairies. Ironically, the province of Saskatchewan is described as possessing the most promising of settlements:

> Rudolf Jeeps rechter Zeigefinger fährt auf der Landkarte umher. Er stellt fest, daß die kanadische Provinz Saskatchewan, welche der Agent für das aussichtsreichste Siedlungsgebiet hält, auf dem gleichen Breitengrade liegt, wie Sibirien.[106]

Schreiber's ironic comparison between Saskatchewan and Siberia proves all too true after the Jeeps spend their first seven-month winter in the country. In the novel, many an "Auswanderer" or emigrant comes to realize that Canada, a

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[105] *Die Schwestern aus Memel*, p.32.

[106] *Die Schwestern aus Memel*, pp.38-9.

young, virgin land seems to demand youth and vigour of its inhabitants. The new emigrants suffer frostbite and the men are presented as less civilized once they stop shaving; furthermore Olga Jeep, the mother of Lenka and Luise, becomes a temporary invalid due to an inflammation of the knee. All of these occurrences lead Lenka Jeep to believe that Canada is a place for young and vital settlers, not suitable for the weak, especially if they are women:

> Jetzt geht es um die Mutter. Die ist nicht mehr die Jüngste und was waren das alles für schwere Entschlüsse gewesen vor der Ausreise. Dann die Strapazen der Überfahrt, das Unterkriechen bei fremden Leuten und obendrein die Flucht durch den Schneesturm und die Knieverletzung.
>
> Vielleicht mußte man wirklich ganz jung und unbeschwert sein, mußte man vor überschüssiger Kraft geradezu platzen, um das auf sich nehmen zu können.[107]

Lenka Jeep adapts better than many of the other emigrants because she is able to rise above the adversity of the climate and the loneliness of the land. She leaves the realm of childhood (at the beginning of the novel she is fourteen) by taking on more responsibilities such as caring for her sick mother and even hunting rabbits. Lenka Jeep's vigour and potential is thus in many ways analogous to the potential of the Canadian land. In fact, the soil is described as virginal and powerful:

> Es ist ein Glück, daß der Urboden bei richtiger Bewirtschaftung viele Jahre nicht gedüngt zu werden braucht. Dieses jungfräuliche

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[107] *Die Schwestern aus Memel*, p.134.

> Land ist voll Saft und Kraft und wartet nur darauf, Frucht aufzunehmen und zu reifen.[108]

However, the Jeeps and their friends soon change their view of this land. Their later descriptions refer to its unyielding, enigmatic, and unpredictable Nature:

> Rätselhaftes Land! Unerbittliche Natur! Da kommen Anfang März eisige Winde über die Prärie und am nächsten Tag ist der Frühling da. Da wird mittags in Hitze und Sonnenglut das erste Getreide geschnitten und nachts kommt der erste Frost.[109]

This disenchantment with the potential of the land and with the paradisal nature of Canada as a whole is culminated in the important image of Canada as a kind of tabula rasa – a geographical and cultural wasteland whose only saving grace is the impact or influence of foreign cultures (in this case, the culture of German emigrants) on the country.[110]

Like *Die Schwestern aus Memel*, *Kanadische Erzählungen* presents us with an equally bleak view of the life of the German emigrant in Canada. This similarity in the depiction of the emigrant's experience of Canada in the two works is significant because the latter work was written *after* Schreiber's visit to Canada. Moreover, the vision of Canada is not at all in keeping with her more favourable impressions of Canada as recorded in her travel account. Here we must

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[108]*Die Schwestern aus Memel*, p.145.

[109]*Die Schwestern aus Memel*, p.167.

[110]This latter point will be developed more fully in the following chapter.

recognize that the fictional medium appears to have allowed the author to explore feelings such as disenchantment, melancholy and the struggle of the emigrant more easily than the genre of the travelogue. In the stories that constitute *Kanadische Erzählungen*, Schreiber provides a decidedly negative image of the German emigrant and his place in Canada. In "Kampf gegen Manitou," a young emigrant couple must live apart since the Scotsman employing the young man refuses to accommodate his wife, Irmgard. Eventually Irmgard's husband dies from overwork, and she must find some employment for herself. Fortunately she uses her musical talent and European training to secure work, and is eventually rewarded with a teaching position at a university in Saskatchewan. The ending is bittersweet as Irmgard thinks to herself:

> Unter Tausenden, die das Land hassen, wurde sie eine, die es liebte. Sie nannte Kanada seither – nicht ohne Schmerz – ihr anderes Vaterland.[111]

The other stories are even more negative in nature than the first. In "Die Brücke von Yankee Band," the health of one emigrant woman deteriorates as her family is faced with the consequences of a bad crop; and in another, German emigrants can only wistfully hope that "Eines Tages wird Europa ganz von uns abgefallen sein. Vielleicht nimmt Kanada uns dann

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[111]Ilse Schreiber, "Kampf gegen Manitou," *Kanadische Erzählungen*. Böhm: Ed. Kaiser Verlag, 1941. p.30.

an."[112] In short, the fate of the emigrants depicted in these short stories falls into one of three categories: despair, resignation, or a bittersweet overcoming of the odds. None of the works exudes sheer enthusiasm or an unqualified sense of contentment.

A.E. Johann

An even more prolific German writer on the subject of Canada and the emigrant situation, is A.E. Johann, a pseudonym for A.E.J. Wollschläger. Although this author has written dozens of novels and travel books about Canada, we will discuss only one of his novels here in detail. *Ans dunkle Ufer* is the first historical novel of his trilogy, "Bericht aus der Frühe Kanadas." The temporal period of the novel is from 1742 to the time of the English conquest of Quebec in 1759. The setting is Nova Scotia, and the events involve the colonization of the area by Britons and Germans serving under the Hannoverian British King George II. Johann's main character is Walther Corssen, a German emigrant from the Lüneburger Heide in Germany. This novel and the other two novels in the trilogy, *Wälder jenseits der Wälder* and *Hinter den Bergen das Meer* trace the experiences of Walther Corssen, his wife Anke and their descendents from the rugged terrain of Nova Scotia to the "Pays d'en haut" or the territory west of Québec. It is worth noting here that like so many other

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[112]Ilse Schreiber, "Die Deutschen auf Malackies Platz," *Kanadische Erzählungen*, p.116.

European novelists who have used the subject of Canada for their literary endeavors, A.E. Johann deals with Canada's early years. This fascination with the Canadian past or pre-history, permits the author to engage in lengthy descriptions of the colony's "Urwald," its unspoiled wilderness, and allows for a greater contrast between the old world and the new, between European values and North American ones.

Like the characters in Ilse Schreiber's fiction, the Germans in *Ans dunkle Ufer* view Nova Scotia as a place of new beginnings – a clean slate where the rules of the old world no longer apply: "Dies ist ein neues Land und macht alles neu. Man muß von vorn anfangen. Die alten Regeln gelten hier nicht mehr."[113] However, unlike the majority of the characters in Schreiber's works, Johann's Germans are depicted as aspiring "Americans" (North Americans) who do not wish to pledge allegiance to the British king or dwell on their past lives in Germany. Like the Acadian settlers, they only wish to be left alone without becoming involved in the petty quarrels and differences that exist between princes and rulers in the Old World, and which lead, for instance to the Seven Year's War.[114] For many of the new settlers the New World is a place where one's own experiences take precedence over social pressure and convention:

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[113]A.E. Johann, *Ans dunkle Ufer*. München: Wilhelm Heyne Verlag, 1975. p.101.

[114]*Ans dunkle Ufer*, p.106.

> In diesem unbekannten Land galt nur, was man selbst erfuhr, was man selbst zu seinem Wissen und Können hinzuerworben hatte. Was andere sagten, brauchte nie zu stimmen. Man war gezwungen, sich mit ungeahnter Schnelligkeit den neuen Umständen entweder anzupassen, oder sie seinen eigenen Fähigkeiten entsprechend zu verändern.[115]

This ability to adapt to a strange land and to rely on one's own resourcefulness is a characteristic which Johann ascribes to the German settlers in his novel. The Germans are seen in direct contrast to the British emigrants who cling to their old class distinctions, often engage in drunken brawls, and are not suited to building the new settlements.[116] Even the historical personality Cornwallis writes back to England, requesting additional German settlers because he is impressed with their industry and tenacity. ("Man solle ihm deutsche Siedler schicken."[117])

One of the primary events in *Ans dunkle Ufer* is the expulsion of the Acadians in Nova Scotia by the British. Johann shows his sympathies for the Acadians by drawing

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[115]*Ans dunkle Ufer*, pp.168-9.

[116]"In der Tat: alles in allem ließ sich kaum eine Auswahl von Menschen denken, die weniger geeignet gewesen wäre, ein so urwildes Land wie Nova Scotia bewohnbar zu machen, als diese Ärmsten aus Londons Elendsvierteln, die nichts gelernt hatten und nie in ihrem trüben Dasein an regelmäßige, gewinnbringende Arbeit gewöhnt worden waren. Sie träumten nur davon, ein Jahr lang frei Essen und Trinken zu haben, in der Sonne zu dösen und soviel Taschengeld zu bekommen, daß man sich seinen geliebten Gin oder Rum leisten konnte..." *Ans dunkle Ufer*, p.193.

[117]*Ans dunkle Ufer*, p.248.

parallels between the Germans and the Acadian inhabitants. For Walther Corssen' wife Anke, the term Acadian becomes synonymous with being an American, or an inhabitant of the New World; she develops friendships with the Acadian community and feels no obligation to the British.[118] Thus an interesting view of national identity and cultural affiliation is provided in *Ans dunkle Ufer*, along with criticism of the British. Johann's stress on the sense of freedom the Germans and Acadians associate with being in the New World is a clear way of anticipating the fervour which led to the American War of Independence.

Unlike Schreiber's Germans, the characters in *Ans dunkle Ufer* do not remain in a cultural limbo; they seem to adapt to their new lives with surprising rapidity. In fact, by showing the multiple talents and malleability of Walther Corssen, the "German" protagonist, and his wife Anke, Johann appeals to a sense of cultural pride in his own German audience.

4. French Fiction and the Immigrant in Canada

Like British and German literature about emigrants in Canada, French fiction also reflects a variety of approaches to the subject ranging from idealistic portrayals of the emigrant experience to less favourable presentations. Many works including Bernard Clavel's *Compagnons du Nouveau-Monde*

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[118]The treatment of Acadians in European fiction will be discussed more thoroughly in the chapter on French Canada.

(1981) and Sergeanne Golon's *Angélique à Québec* (1980) focus on the early colonization of Canada (New France) by the French during the seventeenth century. However, because these works focus on New France, they will be addressed more fully in our chapter on French Canada. In this chapter, we will examine French novels that concentrate on the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The texts to be examined here include J.E. Poirier's *Les Arpents de Neige* (1909), Léon de Tinseau's *Sur les deux rives* (1908), Constantin-Weyer's *Un homme se penche sur son passé* (1928), and Louis Hémon's *Maria Chapdelaine*.[119] The fact that the chosen texts stem from the twentieth century seems to suggest that nineteenth-century French novelists were less interested in the emigration question than in adventure stories such as those written by Jules Verne and Henri-Émile Chevalier.

When dealing with French fiction about Canada, it is not surprising that the main emigrant to be examined by French novelists is the emigrant from France. In Joseph-Émile Poirier's *Les Arpents de Neige*,[120] for example, some of the events involving the Métis rebellion in 1885 are seen through

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[119]*Maria Chapdelaine* was serialized in 1914 in France and published two years later in Montreal. However, it only became successful after the 1921 French publication in book format. The edition quoted in this dissertation is the 1954 Bernard Grasset/Le Livre de Poche edition.

[120]The title of this work obviously alludes to Voltaire's well known assessment of Canada in *Candide* as "quelques arpens de neige." *Candide ou l'Optimisme*. Ed. André Morize. Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1957. Ch.XXIII, p.171.

the eyes of a young Frenchman. As in so many of the European novels we have examined thus far, the European system of values is juxtaposed with the way of life in the New World. The young Frenchman in this historical novel, Henry de Vallonges, comes to Canada dreaming of a new life and heroic deeds. Nevertheless he remains to a large part "imbu des traditions françaises,"[121] often finding it difficult to understand the Métis style of military strategy and combat. Although de Vallonges remains on the margins of the main storyline which follows tensions between the British and the Métis (and includes among other things a love interest between a young Métis and an Englishwoman), he nevertheless remains an important figure. At the end of the story, after the trial of Riel and the defeat of the Métis, the young Frenchman buys land in the Northwest which he intends to give to the Métis, thereby receiving the following response from the Métis: "on est de pauvres Françâs sauvages, mais on est de biens bons Françâs tout de même."[122] The story ends with the young Frenchman determined to build a small French colony in the Canadian Northwest while fighting for the rights of the French in Canada.

Léon de Tinseau's *Sur les deux rives* provides a more balanced account of the experiences of a French family in

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[121]Joseph-Émile Poirier, *Les Arpents de Neige: Roman canadien*. Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1909. Préface de M. Adjutor Rivard. p.222.

[122]*Les Arpents de Neige*, p.345.

French Canada. This novel deals with the struggle of the de Pragnères family (once part of the "vieille noblesse" in France but ruined by debts), and their encounter with the rigours of Canadian life. The baron, Henri de Pragnères, who feels compelled to drop the honorific "de" in his name when he arrives in Canada, never really adjusts to life in his new homeland. His patriotic feelings for France are evident throughout the text, especially when he insists that his son return to France for military service, even though the latter feels no inherent loyalty to that country. Henri de Pragnères suffers greatly as a result of the constant moves his family must undergo in Québec from one remote region to another and falls apart when his wife dies. He himself dies an unhappy man far removed from his beloved "mère patrie." Le vicomte Malefontaine, another member of the French aristocracy who emigrated to Canada, also meets with an unhappy end; he wanders the streets of the New World as a beggar and alcoholic.

Unlike her husband, Henri, Robertine Pragnéres embraces the new world calling Canada "Cher pays où je me sens un peu chez moi!..."[123] Léon de Tinseau places this character in the category of the emigrant who perceives the beauty of Canada. Robertine indulges in Romantic flights of fancy when describing the St. Lawrence River and Canadian nature;

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[123]Léon de Tinseau, *Sur les deux rives*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, n.d. p.71.

furthermore, she sees in Canada (or more specifically, Québec) a land which is more conducive to her pious frame of mind:

> Dans la petite église de bois, plus qu'en aucun lieu, Robertine aimait à prier, saisie d'édification à la vue de cette ferveur canadienne inconnue en France, même dans la Vendée fidèle à sa foi.[124]

Another element links Robertine to Canada. Apparently her ancestors were of Canadian heritage and fought the English in New France (Québec) around 1690, but moved to Louisiana to preserve their French heritage. This factor serves the Pragnères family well because the French Canadians make an effort to facilitate their settlement in Canada since they have French-Canadian blood. In the course of the novel, the son, Olivier Pragnères becomes a "true" French Canadian, since he emigrated from France as a child and never developed an attachment to his European birthplace. Instead, his future lies in Canada as his marriage to a French-Canadian girl underscores. Indeed, his whole spirit seems to welcome the unpredictability of Canadian life (a phenomenon emphasized by Ilse Schreiber in her fiction), and during his trip across the Atlantic in the early part of the novel, he thinks with eagerness: "Quelles aventures peuvent animer l'existence d'une famille de colons dans la banlieue de Québec?"[125] The novel thus ends with the message that only the youthful, resilient or the pious will find happiness in Canada. The inflexible

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[124]*Sur les deux rives*, p.138.

[125]*Sur les deux rives*, p.36.

patriots of France and the decadent aristocracy, on the other hand, will more than likely perish.

Yet another French work about emigrant experiences in Canada is Maurice Constantin-Weyer's *Un homme se penche sur son passé*, for which the author was awarded Le Prix Goncourt. The novel describes a Frenchman's experiences in the Canadian Northwest and the prairies. The style is evocative of Rousseau, Chateaubriand and Cooper, because of the many idealistic images of nature, as well as the portrait of the narrator, the main character, an individual constantly searching for new experiences. Like the author, who spent several years in Canada and worked at a variety of jobs, the narrator of *Un homme se penche sur son passé* is a jack-of-all-trades; in Canada he assumes the roles of cowboy, trapper and farmer. One of the reasons for his change in employment is the changing face of the Canadian West. The death of the old ways (a theme reminiscent of Rousseau's and Chateaubriand's writings) is brought on by mass immigration to the West according to the narrator's French-Canadian friend:

> Avec leur saprée immigration, maintenant qu'a l'Est toutes les terres sont prises par la culture, les fermiers s'amènent icite. Il en vient de tous les bords. Des Yankees avec leurs engins à vapeur, des Bretons, ququ'chose de dépareillé! avec leurs habits de velours brodé et leurs chapeaux plats à rubans, des Mennonites; encore une espèce de russes qu'on appelle les Doukhobors; des Canayens come moiè; des Français, comme toié, mais plus bêtes; des anglais des Vieux-Pays, en culottes courtes; y-z'ont l'air fins, tiens! ceux-là! Du monde, que

j'te dis, de tous les coins de la terre.
..L'diable les emporte![126]

Here again we have a negative image of immigration into Canada; however, this time, the lives of the potential immigrants are not considered. Instead, a nostalgia for the good old days is generated through the remembrance of things past and through the language of the local Métis population. The speeches in joual or the French dialect of the Métis act as local colour which enhances Constantin-Weyer's romanticization of the Canadian West as a land of adventure in a pre-industrialized state.

Given the early indications of the importance of the past in the novel, it is not surprising that the narrator's life takes a turn for the worse in the course of the story, as his marriage falls apart (partly as a result of a mixed marriage to an Irishwoman) and his only child dies of an illness.

Of the other French novels discussed thus far, Louis Hémon's *Maria Chapdelaine* probably sends the most discouraging message to potential French emigrants. Since the novel deals primarily with a French-Canadian family and the rural occupations of the Québecois, it suggests that French emigrants from other walks of life will not adapt to a life of toil or to the harsh Canadian winters. The author makes this fact clear in the following dialogue between three Frenchmen and several Québécois:

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[126]Maurice Constantin-Weyer, *Un homme se penche sur son passé*. Paris: Les Editions Rieder, 1928. pp.17-18.

> Cela leur avait paru si merveilleux, dans leur étroit logement parisien, cette idée qu'au Canada ils passeraient presque toutes leurs journées dehors, dans l'air pur d'un pays neuf, près des grandes forêts. Ils n'avaient pas prévu les mouches noires, ni compris tout à fait ce que serait le froid de l'hiver, ni soupçonné les mille duretés d'une terre impitoyable.
>
> «Est-ce que vous vous figuriez ça comme c'est, demanda encore Samuel Chapdelaine, le pays icitte, la vie?...
>
> — Pas tout à fait, répondit le Français à voix basse. Non, pas tout à fait...»
>
> Quelque chose passa sur son visage, qui fit dire à Ephrem Surprenant:
>
> «Ah! c'est dur, icitte!»
>
> Ils firent «oui» de la tête tous les trois et baissèrent les yeux: trois hommes aux épaules maigres, encore pâles malgré leurs six mois passés sur la terre, qu'une chimère avait arrachés à leurs comptoirs, à leurs bureaux, à leurs tabourets de piano, à la seule vie pour laquelle ils fussent faits. Car il n'y a pas que les paysans qui puissent être des déracinés. Ils avaient commencé à comprendre leur erreur, et qu'ils étaient trop différents, pour les imiter, des Canadiens qui les entouraient, dont ils n'avaient ni la force, ni la santé endurcie, ni la rudesse nécessaire, ni l'aptitude à toutes les besognes: agriculteurs, bûcherons, charpentiers, selon la saison et selon l'heure.[127]

In this scene Hémon incorporates the quaint picture many European French had of Canada before facing the reality of difficult conditions in the country. Nevertheless, despite Hémon's words of discouragement for French emigrants, *Maria*

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[127]Louis Hémon, *Maria Chapdelaine: Récit du Canada français*. Paris: Bernard Grasset (Le Livre de Poche), 1954. pp.163-4.

Chapdelaine was used by French writers to evoke a picturesque image of Canada or Québec for the French reader, thereby indirectly encouraging the French to emigrate to Québec.[128]

Another dimension of the French emigrant in the New World is provided in Anne and Serge Golon's *Angélique* novels. In the early part of the series, the heroine, Angélique leads the people of her province Poitou in an uprising against Louis XIV and together with her husband, is obliged to flee France. She eventually reaches America (Maine) where her husband acquires success as a prospector of precious metals, before moving on to Québec. In *Angélique et le Nouveau Monde* and *Angélique à Québec*, the immigrant experiences of the exiled pair are contrasted in an interesting way. Joffrey de Peyrac is described as a strong individual who is able to master foreign environments in a short time, while Angélique appears to be more sensitive to the customs of the New World:

> Il passera par l'Amérique du Nord en y imprimant son sceau, mais l'Amérique du Nord ne le marquera pas... ou à peine...[129]

> Elle comprenait qu'insensiblement elle commençait à faire parti du Nouveau Monde, à adopter ses querelles et ses passions.[130]

In *Angélique à Québec*, the heroine also reflects on the difference between her attitude towards a new region and her

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[128]See the preface to Ernest Robert's travel book *Canada français et Acadie. Au pays de Maria Chapdelaine*. 1924.

[129]*Angélique et le Nouveau Monde*, Paris: Opera Mundi, 1967. p.140.

[130]*Angélique et le Nouveau Monde*, p.212.

husband's: "Pour elle, subir une hostilité injustifiée l'affectait beaucoup plus que cet homme qui, à braver les pires persécutions, avait trouvé une sorte d'amusement."[131] The vulnerability of the two French exiles becomes clear when they arrive in Québec. The two are initially perceived as allies of the English in New England, and therefore as enemies of Canada. However, in the course of the novel, both Angélique and her husband manage to dispel such notions, eventually establishing control over the foreign and the unknown.

Summary

Our examination of the immigrant experience in Canada as depicted in European literature has revealed a number of approaches to the subject on the part of British, German and French writers of fiction. Instead of each national literature manifesting a specific approach to the European emigrant in Canada, it appears that the three literatures present a united European front in the variety of ways the immigrant experience is treated. Writers like Frederick Marryat, Friedrich Gerstäcker and Maurice Constantin-Weyer often indulge in idealistic/romantic images of the foreigner in a land of adventure, economic promise and idyllic beauty. At the other end of the spectrum, there are the more pessimistic comments on the lot of the European settler in Canada as reflected in the fiction of Louis Hémon, Ilse Schreiber and Emil Droonberg. However, in the majority of the texts examined in this

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[131] *Angélique à Québec*, pp.6-7.

chapter, there exists an ambivalent attitude towards emigration to Canada. Marryat's *The Settlers in Canada* and Léon de Tinseau's *Sur les deux rives* present images of both the "failed emigrant" and the "successful emigrant." In other words, the books reflect a tension existing between the European way of life and that of the New World. For some characters, usually the older generation, or those who still ascribe to the values of their homeland, the Old World or "alte Heimat" can never be replaced by a new home. This is why the Campbells in *The Settlers in Canada* return to England and why the Baron de Pragnères (*Sur les deux rives*) remains faithful to France, "la mère patrie." For certain members of the younger generation, on the other hand, (e.g. Lenka Jeep in *Die Schwestern aus Memel*, John in *The Settlers in Canada*, and Olivier in *Sur les deux rives*) Canada becomes the new home because these individuals adapt to the unpredictability and adventure of Canadian life. In the cases of Robertine de Pragnères in *Sur les deux rives* and Anke Corssen in *Ans dunkle Ufer*, Canada allows them to find new dimensions of religious peace and piety. (Robertine admires the dévotion of the French Canadians, Anke turns from Lutheranism to Catholicism after admiring Acadian culture). In a sense, the question of identity lies at the heart of this Old World/New World tension in European fiction. Some of the literary characters stubbornly cling to their British, German or French identity while others easily become "Canadian" or "North American."

The kind of emigrant depicted in the European fiction above is perhaps an indication of the dual notion of Canada many writers espouse. By contrast, a writer like Constantin-Weyer delights in detailed descriptions of Canada's mythic wild west past, its unspoiled beauty, the sublime aspect of the harsh North; on the other hand, he paints a decidedly bleak picture of an individual's experiences in Canada in the form of the French narrator in *Un homme se penche sur son passé*, who loses a close friend, his child and the love of his wife. This dual image of Canada is also present in de Tinseau's work *Sur les deux rives* when Robertine romanticizes the Canadian landscape and idealizes the practice of religion in Québec, but eventually dies in a remote area of Québec where no doctor is at hand. This apparent contradictory treatment of Canada in fiction suggests that the European writer responds to the concept of Canada in two different ways. Michel Tournier best describes this phenomenon in his Canadian travelogue *Journal de voyage au Canada*:

> Et puis, il n'y a pas qu'un Canada, il y en a deux. Celui où nous allons et l'autre, celui que nous portons dans notre coeur, le principal. Et ce que nous attendons du Canada où nous allons, c'est qu'il offre à l'autre — celui de notre coeur — le climat qui va lui permettre d'éclore, de s'épanouir, de devenir une oeuvre, notre oeuvre.[132]

Tournier's comment on the "real" vs. the "fictional" concept of Canada can be modified somewhat to reflect a

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[132]Michel Tournier, *Journal de voyage au Canada*. Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1984. p.20.

similar dichotomy at work in the fictional text. In the novels discussed in this chapter, Canada exists on two levels: 1) as an aesthetic, literary or abstract concept (e.g. in the form of romantic descriptions of the natural landscape) and 2) as a harsh reality, a state of disillusionment for the unhappy emigrant. In other words, Canada is in one respect a land of beauty and promise in keeping with the view many potential emigrants received from propaganda agents. Yet on the level of daily existence, it can be a cruel and harsh land, demanding youth, vigour and resiliency of its inhabitants. This rather complex series of nuances in the images of Canada and the Canadian immigrant as presented by European writers shows that the fiction about Canada is not always as one dimensional or teleologically oriented as one might have initially expected.

The dual view of Canada (the aesthetic/literary vs. the "realistic," or that which corresponds to external reality) as depicted in the literature of Europeans will resurface in the next chapter on ideology. This chapter will reveal the impact of various ideologies (religious, political, philosophical, literary) on the presentation of Canada in European literature. By engaging in the imagological process of "Entideologisierung," we hope to better understand what motivates superficial, prejudiced, stereotypical, or exaggerated images of Canada in certain British, French and German texts.

Chapter Three: Ideological Baggage and Europe's Canada

What are you...? they ask.
And she replies: I am the wind that wants a flag.
I am the mirror of your fear
until you make me the marvel of your life....
Yes, I am one and none, pin and pine, snow and slow,
America's attic, an empty room,
a something possible, a chance, a dance
that is not danced. A cold kingdom.

Patrick Anderson, "Poem on Canada," *Return to Canada*. 1977. St. VI. p.86.

One of the primary aims of this study is to emphasize the ways European literature about Canada reflects foreign values. Canada is often used by British, French and German writers as a mirror for European consciousness or as a canvas that reveals the imprint of various ideologies. In the preceding chapter we focused on the European immigrant in Canada and contradictory presentations of Canada as a land of economic promise, a nation with a mythic and idealized past, and a cultural wasteland. We also occasionally alluded to the fact that many of the literary manifestations of Canada are mediated by a European consciousness or perspective and created especially for a European audience. Such a phenomenon may explain in part the existence of stereotypical or exaggerated images of Canada in the fiction and poetry of British, French and German authors. This chapter will examine in greater detail the role of various ideologies including British imperialism, National Socialism in Germany, French nationalism, Christianity (Catholicism and Protestantism) and

the influence of literary trends and movements such as exoticism and romanticism in shaping literary depictions of Canada. The "authority" of fiction and fictional conventions over reality or realistic depictions of Canada will also be discussed in this context. Identifying the overlay or application of different ideologies in European literature about Canada allows us to understand the political, cultural or literary motivation behind the production of such images. By engaging in this identification of ideologies, we carry out one of the primary purposes of imagology, namely, the process of "Entideologisierung" or the stripping away of ideology. This enables us to analyze in a critical manner how images of Canada in foreign literatures arise, instead of simply dismissing them as "inaccurate" or at odds with "Canadian reality."[133]

Our analysis of European "ideological baggage" will also reveal the extent to which many European writers who chose Canada as their subject matter remained preoccupied with

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[133]Hugo Dyserinck stresses the non-ideological facet of image studies: "Komparatistische Imagologie strebt in erster Linie danach, die jeweiligen Erscheinungsformen der *images* sowie ihr Zustandekommen und ihre Wirkung zu erfassen. Außerdem will sie auch dazu beitragen, die Rolle, die solche literarischen *images* bei der Begegnung der einzelnen Kulturen spielen, zu erhellen.

Bei alledem lautet aber das oberste Prinzip: Imagologie ist nicht Teil eines ideologischen Denkens, sondern vielmehr ein Beitrag zur Entideologisierung!" "Komparatistische Imagologie," *Komparatistik: Eine Einführung*. Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1977. p.131.

concerns at home, often making use of Canada as a landscape for British, French or German self-discovery. Consequently, much of the literature about Canada overtly or indirectly shows the superiority of European culture over Canadian or New World values.

The first ideology to be examined in this chapter is that of British imperialism and its presence in British literature about Canada between the mid- nineteenth century and World War I.[134] In the context of our study, "imperialism" is accorded the broader definition proposed by Patrick Brantlinger in *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914*. In other words, it is not merely confined to "formal acts of territorial aggrandizement by the state"[135] but also refers to "an ideology or range of ideological positions, from militant jingoism shading off into vaguer sentiments of patriotism and racial superiority."[136] The flourishing of boys' adventure stories and journals such as *The Boy's Own Paper*, *The Girl's Own Paper*, *Chums* and *Blackwood's Magazine* during this historical period are a testament to the British

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[134]The period between the 1880s and the World War I is often identified as the "new imperialism."

[135]Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism 1830-1914*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988. p.x.

[136]*Rule of Darkness*, p.x.

imperialist zeal and the conviction held by writers such as Trollope

> that, wherever the British flag flies, he and his compatriots have a responsibility to import the light of civilization (identified as especially English), thus illuminating the supposedly dark places of the world.[137]

Canada is frequently depicted as one of these "dark places" which British visitors or emigrants are only too willing to civilize and Christianize. Yet at the same time, the mother country often promoted the climate of adventure and the unknown to prospective emigrants. For example, post-World War I British literature put forth the notion that Canada was "a man's country"[138] in need of spirited British lads:

> 'The spirit of the early British settlers to Canada is not dead,' says Major Hayward. 'I have travelled throughout the length and breadth of this country and have been impressed by the wonderful response by British lads to Canada's appeal. There have been many lads who have passed through my hands who have never regretted the step they have taken; many of

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[137]*Rule of Darkness*, p.8.

[138]In Norman Mackintosh's *Tim on the Trail*, a work of juvenile literature published in 1955, the ideology that links adventures in a foreign land such as Canada exclusively with the male species reappears albeit in a more modern context. (Instead of depicting young trappers in the Canadian wilderness, Mackintosh's young men are newspaper reporters in Toronto). The main character, Tim, discounts the usefulness of women in such a rugged country: "'Girls are no good – except as sisters," Tim added hurriedly, as Doris made a dive for his hair. 'I don't mind you, Doris," he said, 'but as for any other girls – well, you can have them. Thank goodness Canada's a man's country!'" London: Blackie and Son Limited, 1955. p.25.

> them are now, in fact, in a fair way of becoming owners of their own farms.
>
> 'This year applications are pouring in from all parts of the country. I don't think it is generally realised that a lad between the ages of fourteen to nineteen can be placed on a farm in Eastern Canada without costing him a penny; that work is assured him and he is under the care of various societies whose inspectors are continually travelling round to farms to see that the lads are quite happily settled. I hope to see many more lads come along to bind further the links of the Empire. It is a chance of a lifetime for lads of the right spirit.'[139]

These imperialistic sentiments were of course reinforced in the imaginative literature produced by R.M. Ballantyne, G.A. Henty and countless others during the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century.[140] This literature, often published through the Religious Tract Society, also tended to proselytize upon the moral superiority of the British. While the stories portrayed young men in search of adventure, these boys still espoused Christian values and were therefore superior to the "ignorant" inhabitants of North America. Eric Quayle points out that this emphasis on British morality and

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[139]This note by Major Hayward in charge of the Boys' Branch of the Colonisation Department of the Canadian Pacific Railway appeared in *The Boy's Own Annual* 52 (1929-30) p.454. Ed. Geoffrey R. Pocklington. "Boy's Own Paper" office, London.

[140]For a more detailed look at the British adventure novel see Chapter Two "'The Wild and Wooly West': A 'Boy's Own' View of Canada" in *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880-1914* by R.G. Moyles and Doug Owram. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

political superiority helped account for the popularity of the adventure fiction of the time:

> Much of the growing enthusiasm for the works of R.M. Ballantyne can be attributed to his belief, held equally by W.H.G. Kingston, Thomas Mayne Reid, G.A. Henty and other boys' writers, that goodness and power were symbolized by the British Empire.[141]

In fact, at times these adventure stories emphasized the British element so heavily, that any scenes with Canadian content seem vague, disconnected or at odds with the general plot. *With Wolfe in Canada, or the Winning of a Continent* (1887) is an example of this lack of coherence. For example, the preface of the novel contains a synopsis of the British victory at Quebec in 1759, which leads the reader to believe that the primary focus of the story will be on events in Canada. This, however, proves not to be the case. The conflict between the English and the French in Canada is not mentioned until page 148 of the Scribner edition. (The entire novel is 378 pages.) Up to this point, most of the action takes place in England and focuses on the exploits of James and his affection for Aggie, the granddaughter of a squire. James is forced to leave his mother country on a smuggler's ship after facilitating the escape of a group of smugglers. He arrives in America, serves under General Washington's Virginia Corps and then learns the skills of scouting before joining the King's

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[141]Eric Quayle, *Ballantyne the Brave: A Victorian Writer and his Family*. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1967. p.130.

army in Canada. The novel ends with James' return to England where he marries Aggie and lives comfortably on a country estate.

One of the interesting features of the story involves James' acquisition of Indian scouting techniques and Indian warfare. Initially it appears that the British find the North American Indian combat style superior to European methods; however, Henty casts such doubts aside when James stresses that once having mastered the Indian fighting style, the British can easily defeat the Indian:

> 'A hundred redskins would be more than a match in the forest for ten times their number of white troops who persisted in fighting in such a ridiculous way; but fighting in their own way, white men are a match for the redskins. Indeed, the frontiersmen can thrash the Indians even if they are two or three to one against them.'[142]

The depiction of the Canadians (used as a synonym for French Canadians) in the novel is also far from flattering. They are placed on the same level as the Indians for carrying out barbarities such as "frequent scalping and mutilating of sentinels and men on outpost duty."[143] Yet like the Indians, the French-Canadian population seems to exhibit certain weaknesses. These inhabitants of Québec are seen as a fragile link in the French force; many desert Montcalm's army and pose

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[142]G.A. Henty, *With Wolfe in Canada or the Winning of a Continent*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, n.d. pp.208-9.

[143]*With Wolfe in Canada*, p.311.

little threat to the British hero James because of his superior scouting ability: "In this way he had several skirmishes with the Canadians, but the latter never succeeded in surprising any force to which he was attached."[144] Yet despite their faults, Henty's hero James regrets Wolfe's destruction of Canadian villages which was precipitated by the French-Canadian refusal to remain neutral in the British/French war.

As we mentioned in the preceding chapter, Canada may serve as a transitional landscape for the British youth who comes of age in this land of adventure; after spending some time in the colony, these young adventure seekers return to Britain to marry and live a more sedentary life. A novel like *With Wolfe in Canada* follows this trend and seems to reflect little interest in Canadian culture. The main focus in Henty's work is on the European conflict between British and French and on the promotion of the tautological "truth" that "the English are on top of the world because they are English."[145] Writers such as Frederick Marryat (*The Settlers in Canada*) and Henty concentrated on the role of Britain in Canada's eighteenth-century past in an attempt to revive the patriotic feeling of former days. This allowed such writers to

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[144]*With Wolfe in Canada*, p.315.

[145]Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness. British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914*. p.44.

emphasize the importance of the British presence and essentially bypass the realities of Canadian culture, which according to the ideological colouring of these accounts was inferior anyway. In theory, much of the juvenile fiction written during the nineteenth and early twentieth century was intended to encourage British emigration into the colony; however, one might conclude that the pro-British ideology gave just the opposite impression. By having British characters leave the barbarity of Canada to return to the mother country, authors of adventure fiction only reaffirmed the superiority of Britain as a place for civilized people to live. This must have discouraged some readers from emigrating. In short, the Canadian landscape is used primarily as an ideological tool to promote the exploits of the British master race. Canada thus falls victim to the fiction of European dominance. Its own voice is barely audible.[146]

Although the expression of imperialism was strong in British literature of the late nineteenth century, one must remember that during this time Canada was also promoting its own form of imperialism. Historians like W.L. Morton and Carl Berger have pointed out that during the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries Canadians associated the Empire with

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[146]In his examination of colonial fiction, Hugh Ridley observes that colonial fiction would not hear the voice of the victims of imperial rule. Instead this fiction focused on the image of the European conqueror. *Images of Imperial Rule*. London: Croom Helm, 1983. p.158.

the possibility for self-government and the strengthening of a sense of nationhood.[147] Various groups including the descendents of the United Empire Loyalists presented Canadian imperialism as a form of Canadian nationalism. The Loyalists firmly believed that Canada's annexation to the United States would be inevitable unless links to Britain's past were emphasized. Canadian writers like William Kirby and Sara Jeannette Duncan deal with such issues in their works. However, unlike their British counterparts, Canadian authors of this period did not idealize England: "while they admired many aspects of English society, they neither saw it as an unblemished model nor did they believe that Canada was a pallid transcription of it."[148]

British authors were not the only Europeans to exhibit nationalistic impulses when choosing Canada as their literary subject. Twentieth-century German literature about Canada also tends to advance the ideology of German cultural and national superiority in a North American or Canadian milieu. This preoccupation with the German perspective can be explained in part by the fact that many European works about Canada used European values and culture as a point of reference and as a

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[147] See Carl Berger's *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970) and W.L. Morton's *The Canadian Identity* (Second Edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972).

[148] Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power*, p.260.

way of sustaining the interest of the European reading public; however, other reasons for this phenomenon stem from the dissemination of the "Lebensraum" (expansion of living space) ideology by Nazi Germany in the 1930s and early 40s. As we mentioned in our earlier chapters, Germany, unlike Britain and France, produced little imaginative literature about Canada during the nineteenth century, because most Germans emigrated to the United States during this time. Although the colonial discourse was quite strong under Bismarck, Germany did not express its radical, nationalistic impulses until the twentieth century as a result of its "verspätete Nation" or delayed nation complex.[149] All of these factors help explain why modern German literature about Canada inevitably stresses German identity.

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[149]The idea of Germany, the "verspätete Nation," has been discussed by Helmuth Plessner in his book *Die verspätete Nation. Über die politische Verführbarkeit bürgerlichen Geistes*. Stuttgart: W.Kohlhammer Verlag, 1969. Plessner developed his theory in the 1930s and published the first edition of his book in 1959. He argues that the powers of the German "Aufklärung" prevented the formation of a nation state in Germany, and that even Bismarck's establishment of the Reich failed to concretize this idea. This failure to develop a sense of statehood resulted in the application of a political dimension to the notion of the "Volk." "Das im Zuge der Verweltlichung immer stärker werdende Nationalbewußtsein fand in Deutschland auch nach der Bismarckschen Reichsgründung keine Form und keinen Halt an einer Staatsidee, wie schon Jahrhunderte früher Frankreich, England und die Vereinigten Staaten ihn gefunden hatten. Als Ersatz dafür und zugleich in Hinblick auf die Inkongruenz zwischen Reichsgrenzen und Volkstumsgrenzen übernahm der romantische Begriff des Volkes die Rolle einer politischen Idee." p.37.

Let us begin by examining some German literature that is less sympathetic towards Canada before dealing with works that provide a more benign point of view. In our last chapter, we identified the voice of German nationalism in the works of Ilse Schreiber. Even before her own visit to Canada in 1937 she was presenting the experiences of German emigrants in Canada to a German audience. In a free adaptation of an actual family's experiences in Canada, Schreiber stresses the disenchantment of many Germans with a country they once thought would promise them "Milch und Honig."[150] The piece, entitled "Deutsche Siedler in Kanada: Ein Tatsachenbericht von Ilse Schreiber"[151] contained the seeds for her later novel *Die Schwestern aus Memel* (1936). The female speaker of the account reveals the desire to found a German colony in Canada and to imprint German consciousness on her children:

> Man wird Kinder haben – Söhne natürlich –, wird deutsche Menschen aus ihnen machen. Wird drüben, in diesem unerschlossenen, unendlich großen Lande mit seiner fruchtbaren Erde, ein Stück Deutschland gründen, eine deutsche Musterkolonie – deutscher Pionier sein.[152]

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[150]Karl Gerhard, "Erwachendes Deutschtum in Kanada," *Wir Deutsche in der Welt*. Herausgegeben von dem Verband Deutscher Vereine im Ausland e.V. Berlin: Verlagsanstalt Otto Stollberg G.m.b.H. 1935. p.75.

[151]Ilse Schreiber, "Deutsche Siedler in Kanada: Ein Tatsachenbericht." *Die Gartenlaube* (Leipzig) 1934, pp.15-17, pp.64-66, p.91.

[152]Ilse Schreiber, "Deutsche Siedler in Kanada," p.15.

It is worth noting that the German idea of "Söhne" or sons who will promote the growth of German imperialism has clear parallels with the "boys and lads" discourse of the British Empire. In other words, civilization is equated with the mother country. In Schreiber's "Tatsachenbericht," the notion of founding a German colony is viewed by the narrator as a means of remaining civilized in the wilds of Canada: "Schließlich wollen wir hier eine deutsche Musterkolonie gründen und nicht Wilde werden."[153] Schreiber uses the same idea in *Die Schwestern aus Memel* to show the preoccupation of Germans with their own culture and the belief that their presence in Canada will be the envy of other inhabitants: "Wir gründen da drüben eine deutsche Musterkolonie. Die sollen ja Augen machen da drüben!"[154] The ideology that defines the views of Schreiber's characters is the "Lebensraum" (living space) theory. The term can be traced back to German colonial writer Hans Grimm whose novel *Volk ohne Raum* influenced Hitler's propaganda campaign for expansion into Eastern Europe.[155]

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[153]Ilse Schreiber, "Deutsche Siedler in Kanada," Februar 1929, p.64.

[154]Ilse Schreiber, *Die Schwestern aus Memel*. Berlin: Verlag und Vertriebs-Gesellschaft, 1936. p.32.

[155]Hugh Ridley indicates that Hitler "remarked that the best thing about Grimm's novel on colonial living-space was its title, which he used in propaganda for expansion in the East." *Images of Imperial Rule*. p.158.

Canada is also viewed by the persona and by the German collectivity in Schreiber's "Tatsachenbericht" as falling short of their expectations. At some point the narrator realizes that the conditions of the German "Heimat" cannot be reproduced in Canada and "daß man hier nie in der Heimat sein wird."[156] The Canadian experience can only offer shattered hopes and suffering. According to the speaker, only the young and strong can survive in a land where crop prices are low, the climate severe, and rewards virtually nonexistent. The only glimmer of hope seems to stem from Germany and its new nationalist movement, which the narrator and the townspeople appear to credit with somehow influencing an increase in the price of wheat in Canada:

> Kommt die Rettung aus Deutschland mit dem Wachsen der neuen nationalen Bewegung? Möge es Gott geben! (September 1931, p.66)
>
> In der Heimat hofft alles auf Hitler. Und, so merkwürdig es klingt, hier auch. Nicht etwa nur wir persönlich. Am letzten Posttag hat Hemmerich eine geradezu ausgelassene Stimmung im Städtchen angetroffen. Alle sind einig darüber, daß das Steigen des Weizenpreises von 22 auf 63 Cents eine Folge der nationalen Erhebung im Vaterlande ist. Wir sind ganz voll neuer Hoffnung. Die Ernte steht gut, das Wetter ist günstig. (September 1933, p.91)

The pseudo-fictional account ends on an optimistic note, but only because of the perceived influence of German events on Canadian affairs.

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[156]Ilse Schreiber, "Deutsche Siedler in Kanada," p.65.

In many ways Schreiber's works echo the ideology of British imperialistic literature about Canada, namely, that European culture is superior to Canadian culture, and that Canada's primary worth lies in its role as a terrain for European self-discovery. Canada, in essence, becomes a kind of tabula rasa – a geographical and cultural wasteland whose only saving grace is the impact or influence of foreign cultures (in this case, the German culture) on the country. In *Die Schwestern aus Memel*, Canadian women are criticized for wearing too much makeup ["sie sind geschminkt und gepudert, als ginge es zu einem Maskenball"[157]] and a town in Saskatchewan is viewed as a region without a soul: "Wie kann eine Stadt, in der Menschen leben, lieben und sterben, ein so bleiernes seelenloses Antlitz haben? Auch von Ostern ist hier nichts zu spüren."[158] This novel, like certain British boys' adventure stories also uses Europe as the final setting. The idea that Canada is merely used as a counterpoint to reinforce the characters' awareness of their own European system of values, becomes even more apparent near the end of the novel, where more space is relegated to the events which surround Luise Jeeps' experiences in Ostpreußen (East Prussia) and the German Reich than to events in Canada.

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[157]Ilse Schreiber, *Die Schwestern aus Memel*, p.179.

[158]*Die Schwestern aus Memel*, p.179.

The above fictional depictions of Germans and their interaction with Canada are of course closely linked to ideological statements circulating in German travel material and political journals of the 1930s and 40s. The tenets of National Socialism were advanced in the German periodical *Wir Deutsche in der Welt* and through the German-Canadian organization "Deutscher Bund Kanada." In his article "Erwachendes Deutschtum in Kanada," Karl Gerhard comments on the success of this ideology in Canada among Germans and other Canadians:

> Die Schulungs- und Sprechabende werden durch geeignetes Material und Filme aus der Heimat so lebendig gestaltet, daß sie nicht allein für den Deutschen, sondern auch für den kanadischen Gast einen bisher nicht gebotenen Genuß bedeuten. Gerade das öffentliche, aber taktvolle Eintreten für unsere Idee und die Verwendung von Filmen und Aufklärungsschriften, welche früher in ähnlicher Aufmachung überhaupt nicht vorhanden waren, haben uns schon große Erfolge in der Annäherung der verschiedenen völkischen Gruppen, die sich in Kanada für unsere Idee interessieren, gebracht. Man verspürt bei weitem nicht mehr die Abneigung und den Haß gegenüber dem Neuen Deutschland, den man in den ersten Monaten der Machtübernahme überall in der Presse beobachten konnte. Die Auslands-Organisation der NSDAP, der Verband deutscher Vereine im Ausland und unzählige private Verbindungen deutscher Volksgenossen in Kanada zur Heimat sorgen dafür, daß das vom Führer ersehnte Verständnis für unsere Idee immer größer wird.[159]

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[159]Karl Gerhard, "Erwachendes Deutschtum in Kanada," p.82.

In addition to this political journal, travel books about Canada, such as Heinrich Hauser's *Kanada: Zukunftsland im Norden* show their ideological colours by anxiously looking for confirmation of the preservation of German culture in Canada: "Ist eigentlich der Deutsch-Kanadier ein Deutscher geblieben?"[160] The author's answer is a resounding yes: "Der deutsche Kern der Deutschen ist geblieben...Das deutsche Wesen sprach mich an auch wenn wir uns nur englisch unterhielten oder stotternd und radebrechend deutsch."[161] Once again, however, the affirmation of German identity in Canada, results in the diminishment of the Canadian identity. Hauser characterizes Canadians as fishing for compliments about their country[162]; he discusses the poor representation of Canadian literature and culture; and he eventually concludes that with the large number of races in Canada it is difficult to know who is a "real" Canadian:

> Es ist überhaupt schwer, eine Antwort auf die Frage zu finden, wer von all den verschiedenartigen Rassen in Kanada wirklich als Kanadier anzusprechen ist.[163]

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[160]Heinrich Hauser, *Kanada: Zukunftsland im Norden*. Ed. Reinhard Jaspert. (Nach Reiseberichten und literarischen Unterlage bearbeitet von Reinhard Jaspert). Berlin: Safari Verlag, 1941. p.170.

[161]*Kanada: Zukunftsland im Norden*, p.170.

[162]*Kanada: Zukunftsland im Norden*, p.174.

[163]*Kanada: Zukunftsland im Norden*, p.194.

This statement echoes Hauser's earlier view that Canada is only just developing: "Hier ist noch alles im Werden, der kanadische Mensch ist erst in der Entwicklung."[164]

One of the advantages of Canada's image as a land in its infancy is outlined in A.E. Johann's *Ans dunkle Ufer*.[165] Here, the main characters Walther and Anke Corssen, who leave behind the provincial and narrow-minded mentality of their respective German villages, welcome the absence of class distinction in the New World. In their adopted land, Nova Scotia of the 1740s, the hierarchies of the Old World as exemplified by Walther Corssen's reference to the "König und Kaiser" principle no longer seem to apply; one is judged according to merit and not class. Johann's emphasis on "classlessness" and "meritocracy" echo Hitler's own promotion of the "Volksgemeinschaft"- the idea that all Germans were equal members of a community. His earlier work, especially the works published between 1937 and the end of World War II, reveal a close adherence to the racist and "Lebensraum" ideologies of the Nazis.[166] Although *Ans dunkle Ufer* does

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[164]*Kanada: Zukunftsland im Norden*, p.7.

[165]A.E. Johann, *Ans dunkle Ufer*. München: Wilhelm Heyne Verlag, 1975.

[166]Helfried W. Seliger draws parallels between the works of Colin Ross and Johann's "fascist phase" in literature. Ross, "an avowed National Socialist and well known travel writer of the time" subscribed to the "Lebensraum" ideology and to the notion of Germanic superiority. Some of these attitudes are present in Johann's earlier works on Canada;

not espouse fascist ideology as openly as Johann's earlier work, it is nevertheless interesting how he uses Canada as a landscape for the promotion of German identity. The German characters in the novel are by far the most dynamic and resourceful; however, instead of concentrating on their sense of "Heimat," the author skilfully focuses on the plight of the Acadians and their fight to preserve their culture despite British interference.[167] The two German exiles, Walther and Anke Corssen become part of the Acadian community, and exhibit national and cultural pride through this affiliation. Thus by describing the Acadian situation, Johann sends a message on unity and nationalistic pride to his German readers.

Another example of German fiction which emphasizes the presence of German values in Canada is Kurt Riedel's *Durch Kanadas Wildnis*, a tale of adventure in the Canadian wilderness. This novel belongs to the tradition of Karl May's novels which were typical of nineteenth-century adventure fiction, but some of its Canadian colour can undoubtedly be attributed to the influence of Hollywood films about Canada or North America. Riedel's work depicts a German protagonist who assists Inspector Siebert, an RCMP officer of German descent

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however, Johann later decided to delete much of the unsound political and cultural material from these works. "The Many Reasons of Love. Germany's A.E. Johann's 60 Year Love Affair With Canada." *Annals* 6. Symposium 1987. pp.39-54.

[167]Johann's novel concentrates on the British expulsion of the Acadians in 1755.

in his hunt for two Canadian horse thieves. The bookjacket heavily promotes the Romanticism of the Canadian wilderness: "Ja, es gibt auch im Zeitalter des Autos und der Flugzeuge noch eine Romantik der kanadischen Wildnis!" As in the British adventure stories in which the British hero easily learns the tricks of surviving in the Canadian forest, Riedel's story also has as its focal point, a European, Paul Sattler, whose resourcefulness and intelligence clearly place him above most of the Canadian characters in the novel. The novel's pro-German stance is also suggestive of Nazi and war propaganda. *Durch Kanadas Wildnis* begins with Sattler emigrating to Manitoba to purchase a piece of land and ending up as the victim of a shady land deal. Shortly thereafter he meets a member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who invites him to try his hand at trapping and hunting in the Canadian Northwest. The novel provides interesting descriptions of Canadian wildlife and Indian culture, but is less than sympathetic towards other Canadian inhabitants (especially those of British origin), with the exception of Inspector Siebert, who in keeping with the ideological force of the story "ist auch ein halber Deutscher, wenn nicht sogar ein ganzer."[168]

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[168]Kurt Riedel, *Durch Kanadas Wildnis*. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1943. 5. Auflage. p.152.

On a very basic level, Riedel's novel paints Canadians with English sounding names as villains and the Germans as "heroes." For example, a Canadian by the name of O'Leary is portrayed as an uncompassionate repossessor of farm goods. Among other things he harbours a prejudice against Germans, calling Sattler a "bloody Dutchman." His resentment is viewed as characteristic of some Canadians who instinctively hate Germans based on propaganda disseminated during the First World War:

> 'Es gibt genug Leute in Kanada, die noch vom Kriege her so maßlos verhetzt sind, daß sie einen glühenden Haß gegen alles, was deutsch ist, in sich tragen....'[169]

The uncharitable attitude of some Canadians cause the German characters in *Durch Kanadas Wildnis* to come to the conclusion that Canadians are money grubbing people with questionable morals:

> 'Kanada ist herrlich, das Land ist gut – aber von den Menschen kann man das nicht sagen. Hier ist alles auf Gelderwerb ausgerichtet. Jedes Mittel ist ihnen dazu recht, hier geht man über Leichen. Die Menschen sind so habgierig, rücksichtslos und grausam!'[170]

Ultimately, the only "good" Canadian is one of German origin:

> 'Na, Frau Inge,' lachte Siebert, 'was habe ich gesagt? Gibt es in Kanada nicht auch gute und anständige Menschen?'

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[169]*Durch Kanadas Wildnis*, p.141.

[170]*Durch Kanadas Wildnis*, p.40.

> Sie sah ihn ernst an. 'Ja, wenn sie aus Deutschland kommen,' erwiderte sie schlagfertig. 'Herr Sattler ist ein Deutscher — und Sie, Herr Siebert, sind im Grunde genommen auch einer, mögen Sie auch zehnmal in der Uniform mit dem roten Waffenrock stecken. Sie sind beide ein ganz anderer Schlag Mensch als Lewis oder O'Leary!'[171]

The anti-Canadian feeling in Riedel's text, which really translates into an anti-British feeling, reappears in other German works about Canada such as Hans Rabl's *Der Major und sein Leutnant: Erzählung aus dem kanadischen Rokoko*[172] which has as its heroine a French-Canadian girl and a British officer as its villain, and in A.E. Johann's *Ans dunkle Ufer* which sympathizes with the Acadian population during their expulsion by the British in 1755.

Durch Kanadas Wildnis ends with the protagonist, Paul Sattler returning to his property in Catswood, Manitoba and discovering that it is now worth twenty thousand dollars more than he originally paid for it. (Another German character in the story has also managed to profit financially from his stay in Canada.) However, Sattler resolves not to sell the land because the money is not as important to him as the wonderful adventures he experienced in Canada. He therefore decides to

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[171]*Durch Kanadas Wildnis*, p.55.

[172]Hans Rabl, *Der Major und sein Leutnant: Erzählung aus dem kanadischen Rokoko*. Berlin: Steuben-Verlag Paul G. Esser, 1940.

remain in Canada for more adventure and tells his compatriot that he will return to Germany later:

> 'Du, Erwin, hast die Freude und die innere Genugtuung des freien Herumstreifens und Erlebens in der Wildnis lange Jahre hindurch ausgekostet. Ich habe bis jetzt nur daran genascht. Fahre du nach Deutschland zurück und grüße mir die Heimat. Ich komme später. Vorläufig bleibe ich hier.'[173]

As in much of the British adventure fiction about Canada, the message in this novel seems to be that Canada serves as a wonderful place to satisfy the "Wanderlust" of the young European male; however, once this zeal for adventure and pleasure wears off, the "sensible" European will return home to take up a more sedate and predictable lifestyle.

Thus far we have examined expressions of British and German nationalism together with their impact on the image of Canada in European literature. French literature published during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is decidedly less overt in championing the French cause at the expense of relaying information about Canada. In fact, as we saw in the preceding chapter, some works such as Léon de Tinseau's *Sur les deux rives* (1909?) go to the opposite extreme of dismissing French culture of the late nineteenth century as decadent, and praising instead the piety of French-Canadian society. Even Jules Verne's *Le pays des fourrures* (1883), has a Canadian sergeant, Jasper Hobson and a British traveller,

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[173] *Durch Kanadas Wildnis*, p.184.

Paulina Barnett as its main characters rather than French individuals.[174] The French tendency to place less emphasis on the concept of "la mère patrie" may lie in the feeling among Europeans as well as North Americans that France abandoned its interest in Canada after the British victory in 1759. One French author who comments on Canada's relevance to France is François-René Chateaubriand, a great champion of exoticism. In the preface to the first edition of *Atala* (1801), he justifies setting the novel in "New France":

> Pour dire un dernier mot sur *Atala*: si, par un dessein de la plus haute politique, le gouvernement Français songeait un jour à redemander le Canada à l'Angleterre, ma description de la Nouvelle France prendrait un nouvel intérêt.[175]

Chateaubriand's concept of Canada may seem somewhat inaccurate, since his exotic novel *Atala* is set primarily in Louisiana (once part of New France) between the mid-seventeenth century and the 1720s. However, his sense of Canada was consistent with the seventeenth-century use of the

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[174]Verne's *Famille-Sans-Nom* concentrates on the French-Canadian cause during the 1837 Rebellion; however, the mother country is mentioned primarily in the context of Alsace-Lorraine, a region of France recently acquired by Germany. *Famille-Sans-Nom* will be examined more closely in the following chapter.

[175]François-René Chateaubriand, *Atala* in *Atala. René*. Ed. Pierre Reboul. Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1964. p.45.

term as a synonym for New France.[176] It is also interesting that Chateaubriand like so many other European writers who chose the North American continent as their subject concentrates on the past. The heyday of French enthusiasm for the colony was the seventeenth century when Jesuit missionaries attempted to convert North American "savages." Chateaubriand also devotes a chapter to this subject in his huge work *Génie de christianisme, ou beautés de la religion chrétienne* (1802). Unlike *Atala* which paints an exotic picture of the Indian as a noble savage, the non-fictional work (which relied heavily on Charlevoix's accounts) describes the barbarism of the Indians and their cannibalistic practices which endangered the lives of Jesuits. Here the triumphs of France take precedence over Indian culture:

> C'était en 1649 que ces choses se passaient en Canada, c'est-à-dire au moment de la plus grande prospérité de la France, et pendant les

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[176]"Cartier referred to the St. Lawrence as the 'rivière de Canada' and the name was in general use until the end of the century.... The name Canada was used loosely, even in official correspondence, as a synonym for NEW FRANCE, which included all French possessions; but it was always understood, as Father Pierre Biard pointed out in the Jesuit *Relation* for 1616, that 'Canada...is not, properly speaking, all this extent of country which they now call New France; but it is only that part, which extends along the banks of the great River Canada, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence.'" *The Canadian Encyclopedia* I, p.322. Chateaubriand either deliberately chose to ignore the more restricted use of the term Canada (sacrificing geographical precision for aesthetic considerations) or was simply not familiar with it.

> fêtes de Louis XIV: tout triomphait alors, le missionaire et le soldat.[177]

The sentiment uttered in this passage is consistent with the general didactic quality of the *Génie* which seeks to present Christianity as the greatest of religions and Christian literature as superior in style and substance to works by pagan writers.

Another Frenchman who tried to revive French interest in Canada was Alfred de Vigny. In his essay "Les Français au Canada" (1838?) he draws the attention of French politicians to the threat of cultural extinction faced by French Canadians:

> Abandonnés par nous, ces paisibles laboureurs n'ont plus ni passé, ni présent, ni histoire, ni journaux. Isolés par quatre-vingts ans de séparation de la mère-patrie et ne comprenant rien à notre monde nouveau qui a remplacé en France celui qu'ils connaissaient et dont leur petit monde est resté la copie et le satellite (?) isolé, ils n'ont plus de littérature ni de théâtre, et l'ignorance complète leurs misères.[178]

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[177]Chateaubriand, *Génie du christianisme*. In *Essai sur les révolutions. Génie du christianisme*. Ed. Maurice Regard. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1978. IVe partie, livre IV, chapitre VIII, p.1010.

[178]Alfred de Vigny, "Les Français au Canada," *Ooeuvres complètes*. Ed. F. Baldensperger. Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1948. p.867.

Vigny apparently intended to produce a more extensive work on the French-Canadian question; however, a published work never followed.[179]

Other signs of France's parental feelings for French Canadians can be found in Paul Valéry's preface to Marie-Madeleine Charpentier *Nos cousins de Québec* (1945). Valéry stresses how French Canada reaffirms the existence of the French in North America despite the fact that too many French have vague ideas about Canada:

> Dans cet état si grave, la pensée qu'il existe un Canada français nous est un réconfort, un élément d'espoir inappréciable. Ce Canada affirme notre présence sur le Continent américain. Il démontre ce que pût être notre vitalité, notre endurance, notre valeur de travail. C'est à lui que nous devrions transmettre ce que nous avons de plus précieux, toute cette richesse spirituelle qu'il faudrait (qu'on me permette cette expression) mettre à l'abri de l'Europe...(pp.13-14)
>
> Malheureusement beaucoup trop de Français (et moi-même) n'ont sur le Canada que des idées bien vagues et sommaires (ici, s'insérerait trop facilement une critique de notre enseignement...).[180]

Valéry's comments must be considered in light of Charles De Gaulle's fight to free France from German occupation. Part

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[179]"Vigny ne publia pas les pages qui résument ses vues à ce sujet." F. Baldensperger, preface to Vigny's "Les Français au Canada," p.862.

[180]Paul Valéry, "Preface," *Nos cousins de Québec* by Marie-Madeleine Charpentier. Paris: Aux Éditions Colbert, 1945. p.14.

of De Gaulle's program included the promotion of ties with the free French territories or regions of the world, including Québec.[181] In keeping with the spirit of the time, Valéry emphasizes the France/Canada link. In his preface, he refers to a Canadian awareness of its French parent and indicates its attachment to its new North American family:

> Elle (Canada) ne renie pas ce père dont elle fût abandonnée; il a sa place dans son coeur; mais elle est profondément attachée et dévoué à la puissante famille au sein de laquelle elle s'est développée.[182]

European philosophical thought and literary movements which emphasized a nostalgia for the past (e.g. Romanticism) and promoted the idealization of natural or rustic scenes helped shape much of the foreign literature about Canada. Cornwall Bayley's *Canada: A Descriptive Poem* (1806)[183] uses the 1759 defeat of the French at Québec to combine patriotic

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[181]See Dale C. Thomson's study of *De Gaulle et le Québec*, Saint-Laurent (Québec): Éditions du Trécarré, 1990 for a more detailed examination of De Gaulle's links with Canada. It is worth noting that during the Second World War, the majority of the French-Canadian population in Québec supported the Pétain or Vichy government in France. p.42.

[182]Paul Valéry, "Preface" p.12.

[183]According to the *Literary History of Canada*, the poem was previously described as anonymous, but later attributed to Cornwall Bayley, "a precocious undergraduate of Christ's College, Cambridge, who left England for Quebec in 1804." *Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English*. Second Edition. University of Toronto Press, 1965. Volume I. p.100.

feeling for the English cause with pastoral depictions of the French Canadian:

> Nor be less praise to thee, my country due;–
> *Britannia's* honors let my Song renew!
> Whether for thee the laurel wreath we twine,
> Or consecrate the lov'lier olive thine;
> No vengeance stains those laurels with its gore
> Those olives no tyrannic thorns deplore;
> Thy sons in mercy great, in justice brave,
> Fight but to conquer – conquer but to save!
>
> This let Canadia's vanquish'd clime confess,
> Tho' vanquish'd happy, nor in freedom less;
> This let her tell; that, when her open'd gate,
> Receiv'd the Victors in triumphal state;
> Albion in turn receiv'd her humbled foe
> With arms of Pity – not with arms of Woe![184]

The poet presents Canadians as happy, virtuous people in their idyllic Québec setting:

> ... here the rustic bands,
> Themselves enjoy the labour of their hands;
> Each views the independence of his lot,
> The genial stove that cheers his cleanly cot;
> His faithful wife – his offspring's varying stage,
> In quick succession rip'ning into age;
> His neat Calash (himself the artist) made,
> For use and pleasure – not for vain parade;
> The well plough'd arpent – the laborious steed,
> Tho' small, yet strong, and certain in his speed;
> The cow's full udder wishing to be press'd,
> The downy flock whence flows his self-made vest;
> The river's freedom or the babbling brook
> Where many a victim trembles on his hook,
> These are his riches; – but from Heaven sent,

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[184]Cornwall Bayley, *Canada: A Descriptive Poem, Three Early Poems from Lower Canada*. Ed. Michael Gnarowski. Montreal: The Lawrence M. Lande Foundation, 1969. ll.145-58.

He boasts his greatest wealth in virtue and content![185]

The above passage clearly reveals Bayley's overlay of pastoral and Romantic conventions to describe Canada. In another section of the poem, Bayley portrays the St. Lawrence as the "Majestic King of rivers" (l.437), "Wide – rich – romantic – is thy regal sway!" (l. 444) The poem ends with an English tribute to the beauties and merits of French-Canadian women.

Like Cornwall Bayley, Thomas Moore, a nineteenth-century Irish poet interested in folk songs, used Romantic imagery to paint a picture of Canada.[186] Moore travelled to the eastern United States and Canada in 1804 and shows his rapture for the natural beauty of Canada in a poem addressed "To the Lady Charlotte Rawdon. From the Banks of the St. Lawrence":

> I dreamt not then that, ere the rolling year
> Had fill'd its circle, I should wander here
> In musing awe; should tread this wondrous world,
> See all its store of inland waters hurl'd
> In one vast volume down Niagara's steep,
> Or calm behold them, in transparent sleep,
> Where the blue hills of old Toronto shed
> Their evening shadows o'er Ontario's bed;
> Should trace the grand Cadaraqui, and glide
> Down the white rapids of his lordly tide

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[185]Cornwall Bayley, *Canada: A Descriptive Poem*, ll.397-412.

[186]D.M.R. Bentley argues that Moore's poetry and his visit to Canada were important for Canadian poetry. In addition he identifies Cornwall Bayley as an admirer of Moore's work. "Thomas Moore in Canada and Canadian Poetry," *Canadian Poetry* 24 (Spring/Summer 1989) Preface.

> Through massy woods, mid islets flowering fair
> And blooming glades, where the first sinful pair
> For consolation might have weeping trod,
> When banish'd from the garden of their God.
> Oh, Lady! these are miracles, which man,
> Caged in the bounds of Europe's pigmy span,
> Can scarcely dream of, – which his eye must see
> To know how wonderful this world can be![187]

This poem highlights Moore's enchantment with the grandeur and paradisal nature of Canadian scenery, especially when juxtaposed against the image of a more restrictive Europe. Moore's extra-poetic comments about Canada, however, indicate that the poet was aware of his own imaginative talent in shaping his Canadian images. For example, a note which accompanies his famous "Canadian Boat Song" reveals his role in adapting the songs of the voyageurs to the literary medium:

> Our *voyageurs* had good voices, and sung perfectly in tune together. The original words of the air, to which I adapted these stanzas, appeared to be a long, incoherent story, of which I could understand but little, from the barbarous pronunciation of the Canadians....
>
> I ventured to harmonize this air, and have published it.[188]

In his preface to the second volume of poetry which included his Canadian poems, Moore provides proof from his notes that his rendition of the voyageur song differed from

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[187]Thomas Moore, "To the Lady Charlotte Rawdon. From the Banks of the St. Lawrence," *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore. Complete in One Volume*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1849. p.128. ll.23-40.

[188]Thomas Moore, Note 1 to "A Canadian Boat Song," *the Poetical Works of Thomas Moore. Complete in One Volume*. p.127.

the original composition by the voyageurs. This, he indicates is contrary to his formerly held belief that his representation of the work was identical to the song of the boatmen:

> From all this it will be perceived, that, in my own setting of the air, I departed in almost every respect but the time from the strain our *voyageurs* had sung to us, leaving the music of the glee nearly as much my own as the words. Yet how strongly impressed I had become with the notion that this was the identical air sung by the boatmen, – how closely it linked itself in my imagination with the scenes and sounds amidst which it had occurred to me, –may be seen by reference to a note appended to the glee as first published....[189]

The story behind Moore's composition of his "Canadian Boat Song" is interesting in the context of our study, because it shows the extent to which "Canadian reality" can be mediated by the European writer through poetic, cultural or political consciousness. While Moore's song initially appears to re-present to its European audience the genuine nature of the voyageur songs, it has in fact been filtered through the poet's imagination. The refrains for the three stanzas contain an element of repetition but also differ somewhat. The first refrain reads: "Row, brothers, row, the stream runs fast,/The Rapids are near and the daylight's past" while the second and third contain the penultimate line "Blow, breezes, blow, the stream runs fast" and repeat the final line of the first

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[189]Thomas Moore, "Preface to the Second Volume," *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore. Complete in One Volume* p.xxv.

refrain. This is in contrast to the voyageurs' refrain which according to Moore was identical for every verse.("À l'ombre d'un bois je m'en vais jouer,/ À l'ombre d'un bois je m'en vais danser."[190])

A German example of Romantic Canadian imagery can be found in the poetry of Nikolaus Lenau. This Romantic poet visited America in the 1830s and used the North American Indians and the Falls of Niagara as material for several poems. Although his portrayal of Indian culture will be included in a later chapter, a brief comment on his treatment of the Niagara Falls (which he visited in the spring of 1833)[191] in the poem "Niagara" follows.

The poem begins with a serene image of the Niagara river:

> Klar und wie die Jugend heiter,
> Und wie murmelnd süßen Traum,
> Zieht der Niagara weiter
> An des Urwalds grünem Saum:[192]

As the poem progresses, however, the activity of the river becomes more wild and uncontrolled:

> Die Stromschnellen stürzen, schießen,
> Donnern fort im wilden Drang,
> Wie von Sehnsucht hingerissen

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[190]The voyageur refrain is mentioned by Moore in Note 1 to "A Canadian Boat Song," p.127.

[191]Hugo Schmidt, *Nikolaus Lenau*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1971. p.74.

[192]Nikolaus Lenau, "Niagara," *Werke in einem Band*. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, 1966. p.106. ll.1-4.

Nach dem großen Untergang.[193]

The picture of the wild river coursing towards its "fall" is observed by a wanderer who strains to hear the sound of the impact, but like other spectators does so in vain because of the thundering sound of the waves. Only the prophet, a metaphor for the Romantic poet, can hear the rushing sound of the future in the distance:

> Und so mag vergebens lauschen,
> Wer dem Sturze näher geht;
> Doch die Zukunft hörte rauschen
> In der Ferne der Prophet.[194]

A twentieth-century European writer who heavily romanticizes Canada in his panoply of works about the country is Maurice Constantin-Weyer. The works of this French author appear to be influenced by the philosophy and literary styles of Rousseau and Chateaubriand. Some of the common themes that appear in his treatment of Canada are "la fuite du temps." This sentiment is clearly expressed in Constantin-Weyer's novel *Un homme se penche sur son passé* (1928) where the narrator mourns the death of the great Canadian Prairie as he knows it:

> ...nous pleurâmes ensemble la Prairie, la Grande Prairie! La vraie Prairie! La Prairie de l'Histoire et de la Légende! La Prairie épique!

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[193]Nikolaus Lenau, "Niagara," ll.21-4.

[194]Nikolaus Lenau, "Niagara," ll.29-32.

> La Prairie de notre jeunesse qui venait de mourir.[195]
>
> Images désormais fugitives, si je ne les retenais pas avec une volonté de tout mon regard...[196]

The above quotation echoes the pré-Romantic and Romantic obsession with the past and with the transitory nature of life. Like his French predecessors Rousseau and Chateaubriand, Constantin-Weyer emphasizes the themes of solitude and contemplation. His narrators read the great literary classics by Homer and Vergil and express a strong link between their external environment and their inner sensibilities. For example, in *Un homme se penche sur son passé*, the narrator "Frenchy," as he is known to his friends, mourns the passing of the legendary Canadian prairie, but welcomes his new encounter with the forest: "La Prairie était morte en moi, mais la Forêt y naquit!"[197] However, Constantin-Weyer's narrators are also men of action who endure where others succumb to the pitiless forces of the Canadian North. Their philosophy is that of Tennyson's Ulysses who is "strong in will/ To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."[198] The

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[195]Maurice Constantin-Weyer, *Un homme se penche sur son passé*. Paris: Les Éditions Rieder, 1928. p.19.

[196]*Un homme se penche sur son passé*, p.21.

[197]*Un homme se penche sur son passé*. p.54.

[198]Alfred Lord Tennyson, "Ulysses," *The Works of Alfred Lord Tennyson*. London: Macmillan and Co. 1892. p.96.

will to endure and a quest for adventure are exhibited by the narrator of *Un homme se penche sur son passée*, especially in his attitude toward Canada's northern regions. He recognizes the deadly beauty of the North, but is still irresistibly attracted to it:

> J'ai aujourd'hui le remords d'avoir vanté les pays du «Grand Silence Blanc» en termes trop poétiques. À peine songe-t-on aux misères endurés lorsqu'elles sont passées. Il ne vous reste que le souvenir des splendeurs du froid, qui n'ont guères d'égales.[199]

Constantin-Weyer has been severely criticized by Donatien Frémont for his distortion or misrepresentation of historical events (particularly those involving Louis Riel) in *Vers l'Ouest* and *La Bourrasque*, the first two works of his *Epopée canadienne*.[200] Frémont becomes positively livid when discussing the author's numerous historical inaccuracies and dismisses him as someone writing for an ignorant non-Canadian (presumably European) public:

> Visiblement, M. Constantin-Weyer n'écrit pas pour les gens de l'Ouest. Il s'adresse à un public qui ignore le premier mot de l'histoire et des conditions du pays, qui réclame de

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[199]*Un homme se penche sur son passé*, p.67.

[200]In his study of Constantin-Weyer, Roger Motut identifies several weaknesses in Frémont's criticism of the author. He places Frémont's arguments in the context of the polemic directed against Constantin-Weyer's work and his person by Canadian literary critics. Furthermore, Motut points out some inaccuracies in Frémont's own statements concerning factual, historical details. *Maurice Constantin-Weyer: écrivain de l'Ouest et du Grand Nord*. Saint-Boniface: Les Éditions des Plaines, 1982. pp.114-122.

> l'extraordinaire, de l'inattendu, qui ne lui tiendra pas compte de ses exagérations grossières, de ses vantardises puériles et de ses calomnies insoupçonnées.[201]

According to Frémont, even the French author's later work does not rectify his earlier transgressions; he remains an enemy of various Canadian groups:

> M. Constantin-Weyer peut prendre le ciel et la terre à témoin qu'il nous aime éperdument et n'a pas voulu nous faire de peine: aucune protestation de sa part ne saurait nous émouvoir, pas plus que sa renommée littéraire ne saurait nous intimider. Tant qu'il n'aura pas désavoué ces livres malfaisants, nous continuerons de le dénoncer comme un dénigreur, un ennemi dangereux de l'Ouest canadien et du Canada français.[202]

While Frémont's exposure of Constantin-Weyer's distortions of the Canadian west appear to complement one of the purposes of "Imagology," namely, the stripping away of "ideology" to reveal a discrepancy between the "image" or "mirage" of a literary work with the existing reality, his criticism does not include a positive recognition of the significance of such fictional "imprecision." He is only able to view Constantin-Weyer's writing for a non-Canadian audience in a negative context. This kind of attitude towards fiction overlooks the fact that the existence of stereotypes in literature may be quite deliberate, thereby serving a literary

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[201]Donatien Frémont, *Sur le Ranch de Constantin-Weyer*. Winnipeg: Éditions de la "Liberté," 1932. p.59.

[202]Donatien Frémont, *Sur le Ranch de Constantin-Weyer*, p.156.

or extra-literary function. In fact, understanding why fictional stereotypes prevail despite an author's awareness of a more accurate picture of a country should be one of the primary functions of image studies. Fictional images of nations or other phenomena are often perpetuated because authors and audiences expect something other than the "ordinary" or the "actual." This observation is also made by Edward Said in *Orientalism* when he addresses the images of the Orient in Western travel literature:

> Two situations favor a textual attitude. One is when a human being confronts at close quarters something relatively unknown and threatening and previously distant. In such a case one has recourse not only to what in one's previous experience the novelty resembles but also to what one has read about it. Travel books or guidebooks are about as 'natural' a kind of text, as logical in their composition and in their use, as any book one can think of, precisely because of this human tendency to fall back on a text when the uncertainties of travel in strange parts seem to threaten one's equanimity. Many travelers find themselves saying of an experience in a new country that it wasn't what they expected, meaning that it wasn't what a book said it would be. And of course many writers of travel books or guidebooks compose them in order to say that a country *is* like this, or better, that it *is* colorful, expensive, interesting, and so forth. The idea in either case is that people, places, and experiences can always be described by a book, so much so that the book (or text) acquires a greater authority, and use, even than the actuality it describes.[203]

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[203]Edward Said, *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1978. p.93.

We can extend Said's comments to much of the European fiction about Canada because like travel literature, the image of Canada in these texts can acquire greater authority among European audiences and writers than the "real" Canada – an authority that makes a critic like Donatien Frémont who insists on "realistic" depictions of Canadian history decidedly uneasy.

A popular French writer whose fiction appealed to foreign views of North America was Henri-Émile Chevalier. This nineteenth-century journalist and novelist was born in France in 1828 and contributed to various journals while living there. After being incarcerated for writing an article against the government of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, he left France for New York where he remained for a year and wrote for the *Courrier des États-Unis*. In 1853, he moved to Montréal and helped found *La Ruche littéraire et politique*. During his stay in Canada, he collaborated with numerous journals and began writing historical novels and adventure novels with a Canadian setting. In 1860 he returned to France and died in Paris in 1879.

Chevalier was a prolific writer whose novels reflected the fashion of nineteenth-century French bestsellers (e.g. Eugène Sue). They initially appeared as "romans feuilletons" or serialized novels and were later published in their entirety. His most lucrative work was *L'Île de Sable* (1860)

which like many of his other works "was of great interest to Frenchmen who had a sentimental historical interest in Canada, but who knew nothing about contemporary conditions there."[204] *L'Île de Sable*, one of the novels in his "Drames de l'Amérique du Nord" series, describes the disastrous 1598 voyage of French colonists under the command of le marquis de la Roche to Sable Island. The marquis' "temporary" placement of his passengers (mainly convicts) on this desolate island appealed to Chevalier as "le canevas d'un beau roman historique."[205] The first eighty pages of the work introduce the reader to the characters of Laure de Kerskoën and Bertrand de Mercoeur whose romantic storyline is promptly abandoned by the author after his character, the Marquis, embarks with a shipload of convicts for the New World. In answer to the narratee's question regarding the fate of Laure and Bertrand ("Furent-ils heureux?") the author simply replies "?" The main characters of the story, Jean de Ganay and Guyonne, both of whom barely survive their horrific stay on Sable Island are eventually rescued by a French ship, marry, and then tragically separate as Guyonne enters into a convent.

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[204]Beatrice Corrigan, "Henri-Emile Chevalier and his Novels of North America," *The Romanic Review* (October 1944) p.227.

[205]Henri-Émile Chevalier, "Envoi à Monsieur H.X. Garneau à Québec (Bas-Canada)." *L'Île de Sable*. Paris: Lévy, 1878. Orig. published 1860. p.4.

L'Île de Sable concentrates on Sable Island and provides its European readers with little concrete information about the rest of Canada. In general Chevalier felt more comfortable writing about Montréal and its environs, which he knew well. However even novels like *Le pirate du Saint-Laurent* and *Le patriote* which are set in Montréal adhere to the conventions of adventure fiction more closely than to historical detail.

Adventure novels or historical romances are not merely the product of a nineteenth-century demand for this kind of fiction. Under the pseudonym Sergeanne Golon, twentieth-century authors Serge and Anne Golon have published over a dozen such novels as part of their "Angélique series." These writers place their romance heroine Angélique in various exotic and adventurous surroundings including the wilds of seventeenth-century Acadia and Québec. Like other novels in the series, *Angélique et le Nouveau Monde* was extremely popular as the countless reprints and translations of the work show. It was translated into Danish, Dutch, English, Finnish, German, Greek, Hebrew, Icelandic, Italian, Japanese, Norwegian, Portugese, Russian, Serbo-Croation, Slovak, Slovenian, Spanish, Swedish, and Turkish!

In *Angélique et le Nouveau Monde* and *Angélique à Québec*,[206] the ideology of the romance novel clearly

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[206]Although Serge Golon died before *Angélique à Québec* was written (after the completion of *Angélique et la Démone*), some editions of novels written by Anne Golon alone still bear

prevails; in other words, the romance heroine and her husband, Europeans in exile, are more exotic than their wild surroundings, thus subordinating the "Canadian image" to the European character's experiences. In the former novel, the heroine is portrayed as the extraordinary individual even though the reader (at least the North American reader) might expect more stress to be placed on Indians, the wilderness and the customs of Acadia. In this historical romance, however, Angélique becomes known as "la Démone de l'Acadie" because an Acadian legend or myth is ascribed to her presence in Acadia by the French-Canadian clergy who seek to destroy her and her husband:

> Dès le premier instant où elle avait posé le pied sur le sol des Amériques, toutes sortes de choses avaient pris une ampleur nouvelle. Et les Canadiens voyaient déjà en elle s'incarner la vision démoniaque qui les effrayait: une femme s'élevant au-dessus de l'Acadie pour causer sa perte...
>
> Bien qu'il voulût s'en défendre, Joffrey de Peyrac était tenté de reconnaître en cette Angélique qu'il avait retrouvée après quinze ans d'absence de surprenants pouvoirs.
>
> Si lui-même en arrivait là, il admettait, regardant la réalité en face, qu'en ces contrés arides, où l'on perçoit avec plus d'acuité les grands courants primitifs et naturels une telle figure de femme, parce que douée de qualités exceptionnelles, s'impose, dès son apparition, comme un être inquiétant, vite suspect, jusqu'à devenir mythe et légende.[207]

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the couple's pseudonym Sergeanne Golon. "About the Authors," *The Countess Angélique*, Bantam Books, 1969.

[207]Anne et Serge Golon, *Angélique et le Nouveau Monde*. Paris: Opera Mundi, 1967. Éditions J'ai Lu. p.417.

In the latter novel Angélique dispells the visions and rumours that label her as this "she-devil" and places Québec under her charm:

> La ville est sous le charme, dit M. de Bardagne, sombre. On ne parle que de vous et de votre époux. Tout ce que vous avez dit ou fait au cours de cette journée memorable a séduit les plus prévenus de vos adversaires et enchanté le peuple.[208]

Although *Angélique à Québec* does draw a rather interesting portrait of Québec, in addition to emphasizing the superstitions of its inhabitants, further comment on this work will be reserved for our chapter on depictions of French Canada in European literature.

Contemporary French author Bernard Clavel has chosen Canada as the subject matter for a number of works, but it is in the short novel *L'homme du Labrador* that he uses Canada in a particulary interesting way. The story is set in Lyon in the 1930s and focuses on a Frenchman who is simply referred to as "l'homme du Labrador" throughout the narrative. Through captivating stories and colourful imagery, this individual convinces an entire town including his new girlfriend that he has visited Labrador. The "reality," however, is disclosed near the end of the novel when the man's wife from Villefranche arrives in Lyon only to find her husband dead. She then tells the town that "Alfred" or l'homme du Labrador

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[208]Anne et Serge Golon, *Angélique à Québec*. Paris: Opera Mundi, 1980. Éditions J'ai Lu. p.188.

was in fact mad and invented the entire trip to Canada based on his perusal of tourist brochures: "'Tiens! Labrador! C'est tout là-dedans. Tout ce qu'il a pu te raconter. Si t'as envie d'y aller, tu feras comme lui...'"[209]

In Clavel's novel, "Labrador" becomes simultaneously a metaphor for Alfred's madness and for the power of fiction or the imagination. At one point in the story, "l'homme du Labrador" alludes to the promise of paradise in a land that resembles hell:

> Faut voir, ce pays-là, c'est un monde!...L'enfer, L'enfer avec toujours la promesse du paradis. On peut pas imaginer...[210]

The villagers respond to these stories with great enthusiasm:

> Ce qui paraît extraordinaire, c'est qu'il répète toujours que le Labrador est presque un désert, pourtant, il a vu tant et tant de merveilles![211]

The madman "invents" a Labrador which captures the imagination of others, just as he creates fictions about other people's lives. His stories about Labrador make the Canadian region "real" and exciting to the inhabitants of Lyon; when he dies and his girlfriend Nelly is presented with the "true" picture of Labrador found in travel brochures, she sees only emptiness:

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[209] *L'homme du Labrador*, p.183.

[210] *L'homme du Labrador*, p.37.

[211] *L'homme du Labrador*, p.82.

> Elle [Nelly] contemple cette côte dentelée, blanche et grise sur la mer d'un beau bleu à reflets de plomb. Son oeil cherche, s'arrête, repart, revient sur certaines crevasses comme si elle espérait découvrir un sentier, une trace, des pas sur la neige ou peut-être un petit tas de pierres surmonté d'une croix faite de deux branches mortes.
>
> Non, il n'y a rien. Les crevasses sont vides. roches et glaces sont nues. Désertes.[212]

The message of Clavel's text is clear: fiction determines reality. Canadian novelist Robert Kroetsch conveys a similar idea: "In a sense, we haven't got an identity until somebody tells our story. The fiction makes us real."[213]

As we have seen in our examination of the Canadian image in European literature, popular fiction about Canada by British, French and German authors abounds. However, lest proponents of "high literature" argue that the subject of Canada only occupied the interest of those writing for the masses, let us now turn to the "Canadian" work by the French writer, Michel Butor.[214] We have thus far examined a

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[212]*L'homme du Labrador*, p.185.

[213]Robert Kroetsch, "A Conversation with Margaret Laurence," *A Place to Stand On. Essays by and about Margaret Laurence*. Ed. George Woodcock. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1983. p.54.

[214]When analyzing the image of Germany in French literature, the Belgian comparatist Hugo Dyserinck notes that "Imagologie" does not merely concern itself with second rate literature: "Und wer etwa dächte, er könnte das Problem getrost umgehen, weil es möglicherweise doch nur in zweitrangigen Werken zum Tragen komme, der befände sich noch eindeutiger im Irrtum;..." Hugo Dyserinck, "Komparatistische Imagologie," *Komparatistik: Eine Einführung*. p.128.

variety of texts which "romanticize" Canada in order to appeal to a European audience's taste for the exotic or the sentimental. However, one text about Canada which does exactly the opposite and undercuts the Romantic image of the Niagara falls is Michel Butor's *6 810 000 litres d'eau par seconde: étude stéréophonique* (1965).[215] The English translation of the title is *Niagara. A novel*. However, the arbitrary classification of Butor's work as a novel is mystifying given the fact that it reads more like a play. The work is a postmodernist criticism of "Romantic" images of the Falls such as those provided by Chateaubriand. Butor's artistic expression is an exercise in the recombination of Chateaubriand's musings on the Falls (Chateaubriand's words act as a subtext to Butor's) as well as a presentation of conversations between lovers and visitors to Niagara. The head of each new section contains stage directions as well as guidelines for reading each "scene." By embedding the subject matter of the Niagara Falls in an artificial milieu of narrative advice to the reader and the characters of the work, Butor strips the subject of its associations with romance and charm. What remains of Niagara is essentially an image of disarray, tacky souvenirs and severed relationships. In a sense, the ideology of postmodernism replaces the ideology of

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[215]Michel Butor, *6 810 000 litres d'eau par seconde: étude stéréophonique*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1965.

Romanticism.[216] This postmodernist ideology consists of the subversion of conventional spatial and temporal orders in a text as well as the sustained exposure of the text as an artificial, indeterminate, and intangible notion. For writers who subscribe to the poetics of postmodernism, the attempt to re-present a geographical reality in a fictional text and the artistic enhancemant of such a reality through Romantic images are not perceived as viable functions of art. Inevitably, the postmodernist can only deal with the reality of inter-textuality; any artistic construction based on some external reality becomes impossible. This emphasis on intertextual reality suggests that the only images of foreign countries disseminated in the literature of postmodernism can be images gleaned from other texts – and even these images must eventually erode and lose their conventional "meaning."

As numerous excerpts from British, French and German texts illustrate, Canada has appealed to the imagination of Europeans from the nineteenth century to the present. Foreign authors have cloaked their depictions of Canada in political ideologies such as British imperialism and National Socialism,

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[216]Although Bernard Clavel's *L'homme du Labrador* also questions the fictional image of Canada, it does so in the context of modernist poetics rather than postmodernism. One of the primary themes of the novel is the tenuous existence of art or the artist; however, the aesthetic of the text itself remains intact and there is no attempt to break down the meaning or structure of the narrative through metafictional techniques.

thereby using the Canadian landscape to promote the value systems of the mother country. This focus on nationalistic discourse has often resulted in the neglect of Canadian culture or in the dismissal of Canadian matters as inferior. In this context, the ideology of Christianity or moral superiority has frequently reinforced the European sense that most Canadians including French Canadians, non German-Canadians, and the aboriginal population are "uncivilized." In addition to serving a political purpose, Canada has been heavily romanticized by nineteenth-century poets like Thomas Moore and Nikolaus Lenau as well as by twentieth-century French author Maurice Constantin-Weyer. These artists have provided powerful images of the Niagara falls, the songs of the voyageurs and the dangerous beauty of the Canadian North in their respective works. Constantin-Weyer's depictions of solitary individuals attuned to the Canadian wilderness have definite parallels with the exoticism of Chateaubriand.

The presence of European ideology in foreign works about Canada also manifests itself in the approach taken by writers of adventure fiction and historical novels to Canadian subjects. Works by Henri-Émile Chevalier and Sergeanne Golon point to the strong impact of popular taste on the literary treatment of Canada. In the fiction of exoticism and romance, the sensational or colourful conventions of the romance novel usually overshadow historical detail. As a result, Canadian

content becomes secondary to the reiteration of European cultural values.

Our examination of European literature about Canada has also involved a consideration of authors like Bernard Clavel and Michel Butor who provide more "artistic" approaches to Canada. In his work *L'homme du Labrador*, Clavel explores the role of the imagination and by extension, fiction, in producing a Canadian reality. The notion that ideologies in literature can in fact acquire greater authority than reality or established perceptions of reality becomes important when explaining the relevance of Canadian images in literature. Butor draws attention to this fact by undercutting the authority of romanticized images of Canada and replacing this old literary and cultural system with the new literary authority of postmodern conventions.

By highlighting and exposing the various ideologies which determine Canadian images in European literature, we have not only taken note of certain stereotypes and distortions, but have arrived at a greater understanding of how such images or mirages function. Instead of dismissing foreign images of a nation as inaccurate or unrealistic, literary scholars engaged in image studies must continue to recognize the impact of audience demand, artistic conventions as well as other cultural, political, and historical currents on the creation of such images.

Chapter Four: French Canada Through European Eyes

"C'est terrible, dans cette foutue colonie, les curés ont vraiment des yeux partout. Tout le monde en a peur."
Bernard Clavel, *Compagnons du Nouveau-Monde*, p.242.

"Unsere Reisegefährten waren meistens Canadier aus den untern Volksclassen, die ein sehr schlechtes Französisch sprachen, dem Wallonischen ähnlich."
Reise Sr. Hoheit des Herzogs zu Sachsen-Weimar Eisenach durch Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1825 und 1826. Ed. Heinrich Luden. Erster Theil. Weimer: Wilhelm Hoffmann, 1828. p.161.

"C'étaient d'intrépides partisans de la réforme, ayant au coeur cette haine instinctive contre tout ce qui était de race anglo-saxonne, «ce qui sentait l'Anglais» comme on disait alors en Canada."
Jules Verne, *Famille-Sans-Nom*, p.105.

Although the British presence in Canada and Canada's role as a British colony became the subject of much European literature, "French Canada" also intrigued many foreigners, especially French writers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This chapter will examine the attitudes of British, French and German authors towards the "French factor" in Canada. French-Canadian areas that will form the basis of our textual examination include New France, Acadia, Québec, and the "Pays d'en haut." The geographical regions which these terms designated were not always clearly defined because the terms evolved as a result of historical and political changes.[217] New France referred to the French colony in North America that existed between the founding of Québec in

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[217]The primary source for definitions of these territories is *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, second edition. See the articles under the respective headings.

1608 to the transfer of Canada to Britain in 1763. Some of the areas that at one time or another formed part of New France were most of the modern province of Québec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Labrador, Newfoundland, Maine and Louisiana. Definitions of Acadia fluctuated as well depending on the perspective of the colonial power. Under the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, for example, the French recognized only Nova Scotia as part of the region of "ancient Acadia"; however, the English also claimed the regions of New Brunswick, the Gaspé and Maine. Today "Acadians" inhabit parts of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Québec. In much of the European fiction which covers pre-Confederation Québec, the name "Québec" is synonymous with Québec City. After the British conquest, the Province of Québec (which included parts of modern Ontario) was created out of the populated portion of New France. In 1791 this area was divided into the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, which in turn were united in 1841 through the influence of the Durham Report into the Province of Canada. In 1866, Québec and Ontario were named as the successor provinces of this region.

The "Pays d'en haut" or the "upper country" was an equally malleable expression. During the existence of New France, it referred to northwestern Québec, most of Ontario, the area west of the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes, and the territory leading to and including the Canadian prairies. The term is used by the novelists examined in this

chapter to designate the Canadian prairies or the Canadian Northwest.

Because a large part of the discussion in this chapter will revolve around the historical events portrayed in the various texts, we will approach the works with an internal chronology in mind, instead of ordering the texts according to their respective publication dates. Certain events obviously stand out in the European imagination as the most relevant aspects of French Canada. These include the influx of French settlers during the seventeenth century, the retaking of Louisbourg and the acquisition of Québec around the middle of the eighteenth century, the North-West Rebellion, and the rebellion of 1837. In addition to chronicling events, European writers also provide insight into the nature of the French-Canadian "habitant," often emphasizing the piety of the French Canadian in contrast to the decadence of his European counterpart, and in the case of French writers, promoting French-Canadian or Québec nationalism. Of course, any discussion of French Canadians must also take into account the relationship between English and French factions in Canada, which lies at the very heart of Canada's historical and present definition as a region. The relationship of Canadian francophones to British and English-Canadian elements in the country receive a good deal of attention in European literature. Some portraits of French Canadians, especially those provided by French authors, are sympathetic towards the

North American French; others, such as those contained in British accounts, are not so favourable due to the historical enmity between the two nations. Britons often viewed French Canadians as a proverbial "thorn in the side" to the establishment of a homogeneously British Canada. Germans who wrote about French Canada, on the other hand, seem to side with the French-Canadian cause and display some anti-British sentiment. Unfortunately versions of the historical English-French conflict continue to exist in the Canada of today. Perhaps the following analysis of foreign literary perceptions of the relationship between the two cultures can contribute in some small way to our understanding of current tensions at work in Canada.

The life of early French Canada or New France, as it was known in the seventeenth century, has provided the background for novels by twentieth-century French writers, Anne and Serge Golon and Bernard Clavel. The Golon's *Angélique et le Nouveau Monde* and *Angélique à Québec* deal with seventeenth-century New France; the former work is set largely in Maine (which formed part of Acadia at the time) and the latter in Québec. However, the French Canadians of Québec are very much present in *Angélique et le Nouveau Monde* in the guise of characters such as Nicholas Perrot and François Maupertuis, French-Canadian trappers condemned to death by the Government of Québec.[218]

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[218]Anne and Serge Golon, *Angélique et le Nouveau Monde*. Paris: Opera Mundi, 1967. Éditions J'ai lu. p.58.

Throughout the novel Québec is perceived as a land of superstition which harbours suspicions against Angélique and her husband Joffrey de Peyrac. Angélique becomes identified with a female demon in the vision of a saintly nun from Québec who dreamed that such a demon was snatching the souls of Acadian Indians from the Church.[219] Similarly, Canadians suspect Joffrey de Peyrac of working with the English while prospecting for precious metals in French Acadia. Many of these stories are spread by the Jesuit priests, some of whom are Peyrac's mortal enemies in the novel. Well-to-do French-Canadian society is portrayed as a world of secrets and conspiracy in the following panorama of Québec, Montréal, and Trois-Rivières:

> Trois villes perdues. Que le feu y crépite dans l'âtre pour les sauver de la mort!
>
> La vie des feux est si ardente qu'on oublie la mort, et le silence, et le désert. L'on y grouille dans ces villes, l'on y caquette, l'on y complote, l'on y intrigue, l'on y bataille, tout l'hiver, à coups de langue dans les salons, à coups d'escabeau dans les cabarets, violemment, sourdement, cordialement, entre amis, entre cousins, entre gens du Canada. L'on y prie aussi beaucoup, l'on s'y confesse énormément, l'on y médite, l'on y rêve, le regard tourné vers le festonnement blanc des montagnes laurentides,ou l'horizon gris de la forêt, vers le Sud.
>
> L'on rêve au départ. Vers la mer et l'Europe, ou vers l'Ouest, vers les fourrures et les sauvages... Par ici ou par là-bas... Mais partir, toujours partir... Quand reviendra le temps de partir?...
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> On s'y aime aussi, à la sauvette, en cachette avec remords, même entre époux, à

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[219]*Angélique et le Nouveau Monde*, p.60.

> cause de l'oeil des jésuites qui pèse sur toutes les consciences.
>
> On y boit beaucoup. C'est le seul plaisir. De l'eau-de-vie, encore de l'eau-de-vie. De l'eau-de-vie de pommes, de seigle, de prunes ou de froment, parfumé, transparent et que l'on a brûlé dans son propre alambic.
>
> Les rues d'hiver sont pleines de l'odeur du marc, de celle des feux de bois, des soupes au lard et des anguilles fumées.
>
> Les jours d'hiver sont imprégnés de l'odeur d'encens des messes et des vêpres et de l'odeur parcheminée des livres reliés de cuir que l'on a apportés d'Europe et que l'on feuillette et relit sans cesse au coin de l'âtre.
>
> Les nuits d'hiver craquent sous le gel. On dirait que les vitres vont éclater. Des fleurs de givre collent aux carreaux.[220]

The above passage indicates the insular, closeted nature of French Canada and the overwhelming power of the Jesuit presence. The inhabitants of this world find solace in alcohol and dream of leaving the region. In such areas, even the sentiment of "love" is seen as an alien feeling before the arrival of Angélique in the New World:

> Jamais le mot «amour» n'avait été tant prononcé tant à Québec qu'à Montréal, effleurant au passage Trois-Rivières, qui n'y comprenait rien, et jamais l'on n'avait tant discouru pour définir la signification de ce sentiment essentiel.[221]

It is Angélique, the European, who injects this love sickness into the landscape of Canada and causes men like the Baron d'Arreboust to fall hopelessly in love with her.

In *Angélique à Québec*, the heroine and her husband arrive in Québec to a host of new rivalries and intrigues. In this

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[220]*Angélique et le Nouveau Monde*, pp.352.

[221]*Angélique et le Nouveau Monde*, p.556.

work, Angélique manages to dispel the myth that she is indeed the demon of Acadia, and eventually receives the admiration of the Québec inhabitants. This work also discusses the arrival in Québec of the "filles du roi" – the young girls sent from France by Louis XIV to marry the male settlers. For these girls, New France offers the hope of a better life:

> Pour les nouveaux arrivants venus chercher au Canada la possibilité d'une vie meilleure, le vieux royaume s'éloignait comme un lourd navire chargé d'anathèmes et de rancunes, d'oripeaux sanglants et poussiéreux afin de disparaître loin à l'horizon des esprits et l'on pouvait espérer que tout ce qui s'édifierait ici le serait dans l'harmonie, guéri d'inutiles servitudes.[222]

Other female residents of Québec and New France are attributed a high level of sophistication by the newcomers from France, because they possess "un haut degré de culture."[223]

Like Anne and Serge Golon, Bernard Clavel has also shown an interest in writing about French Canada's seventeenth-century past. *Compagnons du Nouveau-Monde*, the fifth book of his "Les colonnes du ciel" series, describes the experiences of Bisontin, a young French carpenter, his lover Séverine, and Dolois, a close friend in New France. The novel also emphasizes the sado-masochistic tendencies of the Jesuits and the extent to which they manipulate the lives of the

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[222]Anne and Serge Golon, *Angélique à Québec*. Paris: Opera Mundi, 1980. Éditions J'ai lu. pp.78-9.

[223]*Angélique à Québec*, p.209.

inhabitants in Québec.[224] Shortly after his arrival in the new world, Bisontin's clandestine relationship with Séverine comes to the attention of one priest, père Charles Delorimière, who arranges for Bisontin to accompany him to a northern region for one year to build a church in a Huron settlement. During this year Bisontin and Séverine are to be separated in order to purify themselves and to serve God and the colony. Séverine is to stay in the convent with the Ursuline sisters until Bisontin returns to Québec. Only then will the priest consent to marry the two.

Unfortunately the events do not transpire according to plan. Bisontin, the priest and several Hurons are ambushed, then carried off by the Iroquois and tortured. The only character who welcomes the opportunity to suffer is Père Delorimière. Throughout his captivity he declares: "Je n'aurai jamais assez de souffrance à offrir à mon Dieu."[225] He offers to carry Bisontin when the latter is unable to walk, thereby saving him from certain death at the hands of the Iroquois. The priest eventually dies the death of a martyr, while Bisontin's life is saved by an old Iroquois woman who claims him as a substitute for the warrior son Bisontin

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[224]In *The Myth of the Savage And the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas*, Olive Patricia Dickason indicates that "the Jesuit dominance of missionary work was curtailed by the introduction of the Recollets in 1670." Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1984. p.265.

[225]Bernard Clavel, *Compagnons du Nouveau-Monde*. Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1981. p.130.

killed. In the course of the novel, the early horrific depiction of the Indians is mitigated by a closer examination of the Iroquois system of values. Upon his escape from the Iroquois camp, Bisontin even experiences a sense of sorrow for the old Indian woman Soyouwes, who will lose a second son once Bisontin leaves.

When Bisontin returns to Québec to rejoin Séverine, he marries and sets about resuming his life in the New World and leaving the troubles of the Old World behind. However, another priest, Father Therrien, conspires to send him away on a ship bound for France as the ship's carpenter. A kindly priest sympathetic towards Bisontin and Séverine's plight arranges for both to sail together. Unfortunately, this journey also ends in tragedy. Both Bisontin and Séverine leave New France never to return again as their ship sinks due to rotting wood – an apt symbol for the couple's negative experiences in North America.

Clavel's story captures the tension at work between the Jesuits and the laity in seventeenth-century Québec. In *Compagnons du Nouveau-Monde*, the former seek to impose a strict moral code of behaviour on the inhabitants contracted to work for them. This strict order is diametrically opposed to the colonists' desire to find a kind of freedom and relief in the New World not readily available in the Old. The novel thus provides a series of imprisonment and escape episodes

which emphasize the paradox of confinement in the context of a seemingly vast, and untamed continent.

Other portraits of French Canada or the French-Canadian population can be found in European literature concerning the British siege of Louisbourg in 1758 and the taking of Québec in 1759. The British victory in the fight for Canada is the subject of British boys' adventure fiction and some German fiction as well. French literature, by contrast, has not dwelled on this period in Canadian history to the same extent. Even the expulsion of the Acadian population by the British does not figure prominently in French literature. Instead, the work of literature which springs most readily to mind in the context of the Acadians is the bittersweet poem *Evangeline* (1847), the creation of an American poet, Henry W. Longfellow. This work was translated into many languages and inspired the writing of a play based on Longfellow's poem.[226]

Before we examine the treatment of Acadians in European literature any further, we will deal with the literary treatment of French Canadians during the conquest of Québec in 1759. A British traveller to Canada, Anna Brownell Jameson describes the fallen Québec as an "old grandam" "who sits

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[226]Longfellow's poem was translated by French-Canadian writer Pamphile Le May in 1865 and translated into French prose by Louis Duprêt in 1886 (Paris). N.E.S. Griffiths, "Longfellow's *Evangeline*: The Birth and Acceptance of a Legend," *Acadiensis* 11, ii (Spring 1982), p.30. The work was adapted into a play by Louis de Grammont and G. Hartman, *Evangéline, Légende acadienne en 4 actes*, Paris: Chaudus et fils, 1895. 46 pages.

bristling defiance on the summit of her rocky height, in warlike and tragic experience."[227] The events leading up to this tragic Québec are described in G.A. Henty's novel *With Wolfe in Canada*. Although the primary emphasis in the work is on British manoeuvres during the defeat of the French at Louisbourg and Québec, (no mention is made of the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755) some interesting references to the French-Canadian population also appear. The "Canadians" (a synonym for French Canadians in the context of the novel) are apparently known for their barbarity and are consistently contrasted with the European French who are seen as civilized because they do not encourage the Indians to execute and scalp the English. The last governor of New France, Vaudreuil, also falls under the designation of a barbarous man in Henty's historical novel, because he condones the Indian tradition of warfare and killing of English prisoners:

> The letters of Montcalm and his officers to their friends were full of disgust at the doings of their savage allies, and of regret that they could not dispense with their services or restrain their ferocity. Vaudreuil and the Canadians, on the other hand, accustomed to the traditions of savage warfare, made no attempt whatever to check the ferocity of the Indians, and were indeed the instigators of the raids which the savages made upon the unprotected villages and settlements on the frontier, offered rewards for scalps, and wrote

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[227]Anna Brownell Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*. Afterword by Clara Thomas. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990. First published in 1838 by Saunders and Otley, London. p.332.

> and talked gleefully of the horrible atrocities committed upon the colonists.[228]

This passage suggests that an interesting system of parallels and juxtapositions is at work in the novel. On the one hand, Henty underscores the superiority of the British forces and their decisive victory over the French in Canada; however, in another sense, he places the British and the European French in the same camp by showing the "European" French as culturally superior to their North American cousins who have more in common with the Indians. This cultural, apolitical alliance that is established between the British and the French as soon as the French Canadians come into play is yet another illustration of how the European point of view tends to de-emphasize or provide a negative picture of Canadian inhabitants in foreign literature about Canada.

By stressing the barbarous nature of the Canadians, Henty is able to justify the actions of both Montcalm and Wolfe who have a grander vision of Canada. After the fall of Louisbourg in 1758, Wolfe is described as reluctantly carrying out the orders of General Abercromby to destroy the French settlements on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, "a task most repugnant to his humane nature."[229] During the siege of Québec, Wolfe's decision to burn farm-houses and villages as a means of inducing the Canadians to desert is also rationalized given

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[228]G.A. Henty, *With Wolfe in Canada, or the Winning of a Continent*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, n.d. p.233.

[229]*With Wolfe in Canada*, p.290.

the acts of scalping and mutilation carried out by the French Canadians against the British. He is furthermore cast in a beneficent light because he orders his men not to treat any women with violence.[230] Therefore Wolfe's acts are seen as causing minimal damage when compared to the acts of Vaudreuil,[231] the Canadian, who

> was answerable for atrocities incomparably worse and on a far larger scale, for he had for years sent his savages, red and white, along a frontier of 600 miles to waste, burn, and murder at will, and these, as he was perfectly aware, spared neither age nor sex.[232]

Like Wolfe, the French general Montcalm also remains unfazed by the destruction of Canadian settlements. He

> was not to be moved from his position by the sight of the smoke of the burning villages. He would not risk the loss of all Canada for the sake of a few hundred farm-houses.[233]

Thus, in *With Wolfe in Canada* the French Canadians are generally regarded as an expendable force in a war between the great European powers, England and France. In other words, the system or philosophy of the "colonizer" dominates that of the "colonized"; the Canadian is thereby subordinated to the ideology of the European.

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[230]*With Wolfe in Canada*, p.311.

[231]Vaudreuil was the only Canadian born Governor General of New France.

[232]*With Wolfe in Canada*, p.311.

[233]*With Wolfe in Canada*, p.311.

A work of German fiction which takes a radically different view of the French Canadian, is *Der Major und sein Leutnant: Erzählung aus dem kanadischen Rokoko* by Hans Rabl.[234] This twentieth-century novel begins with the birth of a young girl during the English capture of Québec. Jeanne is raised by her father and learns to speak Indian languages as well as French. She is placed in a convent for further education, but her wild upbringing makes her unsuited to the strict rules of the Ursulines. One day after repeating an indecent anecdote told to her by an English girl, she is punished and decides to run away. Shortly thereafter she is saved from a wolverine attack by a British officer, Arthur Neville, a member of the "Husarenschwadron." Upon her safe return to the convent, Jeanne can think only of her officer friend. When she leaves the convent at the age of eighteen, she enlists in the army disguised as a man under the name of Jean La Fare to be near Major Neville. However, the story takes a bizarre turn when a young woman, Mabel, her Yankee father and brothers are captured by Neville and his troop for anti-British activities. Jeanne tries to arrange for the secret release of the young girl and her family, by sleeping with Neville under the guise of Mabel. Neville initially agrees to the release of Mabel and her clan; however, after

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[234]Hans Rabl, *Der Major und sein Leutnant: Erzählung aus dem kanadischen Rokoko*. Berlin: Steuben-Verlag Paul G. Esser, 1940. The publication date of this novel and of other German works about Canada reflect a disproportionate interest in Canada during the Nazi era.

his encounter with Jeanne (the false Mabel), he reneges on his promise and Jeanne's love for her officer is immediately transformed into hate.

In her role as Jean the lieutenant, Jeanne calls Neville an immoral man and challenges him to a duel. Neville kills Jeanne and the prisoners are eventually released. Years later, during the American War of Independence, Mabel who all along intimated that Jeanne was a woman, discusses the matter with General Grant. Grant calls for the dismissal of Neville, but Neville's commanding officer Burgoyne decides not to act on this advice. Several days later, however, Neville is found hanged, presumably by Mabel's American compatriots.

This German novel has a French-Canadian girl as its heroine and a British officer as its villain, quite the contrary of Henty's *With Wolfe in Canada* where the French Canadians are viewed as barbarians and the British as the civilized force. Rabl underscores the immoral conduct of the British early on with the indecent joke that an English girl had passed on to Jeanne, and later with the dishonourable behaviour of Neville.[235] The novel also clearly sides with the Americans and their winning of independence from British rule. Yet another implicit criticism of Neville's dishonouring of his contract with Jeanne as the "false Mabel" after their evening encounter is contained in the narrator's statement

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[235]Such anti-British feeling was undoubtedly inspired by the Nazi propaganda machine.

that the French Canadians were in general more loyal to England than to the independence movement in the States. In short, *Der Major und sein Leutnant* acts as an interesting counterpoint to the extremely critical image of the French Canadians in Henty's historical novel.

A literary work which attempts to portray a more amiable relationship between the British and the native French-Canadian population is Cornwall Bayley's *Canada: A Descriptive Poem* (1806). The speaker of the poem (written in heroic couplets) describes the British capture of Québec or Canada in terms of Britain's sons who "fight but to conquer – conquer but to save!"[236] In Bayley's poem Canada is portrayed as a vanquished but happy state, "nor in freedom less."[237] In addition, the French-Canadian population is lauded for its virtuous and pious qualities and is described in idyllic terms. In other words, the French inhabitants of Canada are perceived by the speaker as living in a state of simple innocence, oblivious to the horrors of the Terror in France under Robespierre:

> She knows not ought of Gallia but the name;
> Nought but the cheerful sunshine of the breast,
> The active labour or the wanted rest,
> The simple song – the pipe – the rural choir,

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[236]Cornwall Bayley, *Canada: A Descriptive Poem. Three Early Poems from Lower Canada*. Ed. Michael Gnarowski. Montreal: The Lawrence M. Lande Foundation, 1969. pp. 73-96. l.152.

[237]*Canada: A Descriptive Poem*, l.154.

> Charms that *once* bloom'd amidst the vales of Loire![238]

The poem ends with a tribute to the beauties of the females in the Province of Canada and attempts to portray the marriage between Britain, the conqueror and the conquered French-Canadian population as a felicitous one:

> And England's self may hail around her coast,
> Canadia's daughters as her noblest boast![239]

The transfer of French Canada into English hands is also dealt with in A.E. Johann's *Ans dunkle Ufer*. However, unlike Henty's *With Wolfe in Canada*, which emphasizes the capture of Louisbourg and Québec in 1758 and 1759 respectively, Johann's work focuses on the events leading up to the Acadian expulsion in 1755 and makes relatively short shrift of the taking of the French fortresses in Cape Breton and Québec. *Ans dunkle Ufer* consistently portrays the British and Old World order in a rather negative light, while exalting the freedom of expression possible in the New World. The Acadian population is used to describe this form of liberation as well as the desire for self-determination as "eine eigenständige 'Nation.'"[240] In the novel the Acadians claim that they only want to be left alone to live in peace with others: "Wir sind nur ein kleines Völkchen, Acadier, und wir wollen mit

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[238]*Canada: A Descriptive Poem*, ll.250-4.

[239]*Canada: A Descriptive Poem*, ll.515-16.

[240]A.E. Johann, *Ans dunkle Ufer*. München: Wilhelm Heyne Verlag, 1975. p.414.

jedermann in Frieden leben."[241] The narrator of the historical novel depicts the Acadians as a unique people who want no firm ties with the French, the British or even with their North American cousins, the Québécois:

> Akadien und die Akadier haben bis zu ihrer Austreibung (1755) die Engländer und die Franzosen mit ihren Hoheits-Ansprüchen mehr als ein dutzend Mal kommen und gehen sehen. Schließlich nahmen sie weder die einen noch die anderen sehr ernst und waren froh, daß Québec oder Paris, Boston oder London weit entfernt lagen. Sie waren sie selbst, sie sprachen französisch, hatten aber auch nichts gegen die englische Sprache; sie verlangten im Grunde nur eins: In Ruhe sich selbst überlassen zu bleiben, damit das höchst gesunde Pflänzchen Akadia wachsen könne.[242]

Walther and Anke Corssen, the German immigrants in the novel who help build Halifax, find in the Acadian settlement a spirit of accommodation and hospitality not present in the British dominated Halifax: "Hier bei den Akadiern ist man uns von Anfang an freundlich and gastlich begegnet."[243] Both Corssens eventually become part of the community and adopt the Catholic religion, thereby discarding the severity they associate with their Lutheran religion in Germany. Walther Corssen, who came to Nova Scotia in the service of the Hannoverian British King George II realizes that the only way to remain true to oneself is to become an Acadian or an "American":

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[241] *Ans dunkle Ufer*, p.105.

[242] *Ans dunkle Ufer*, p.129.

[243] *Ans dunkle Ufer*, p.295.

> Wenn man sich hier selbst treu bleiben will, dann geht das nur auf die Weise der Akadier. Oder sollte man lieber gleich 'Amerikaner' sagen?[244]

In Johann's book parallels are drawn between the "Acadian" and the "American" way. In other words, the Acadian culture is viewed by the novelist as the forerunner to the spirit of independence characteristic of the anti-British rebels and the American Revolution.

The author of *Ans dunkle Ufer* makes no attempt to hide his conviction that the deportation of the Acadians for not swearing an oath of allegiance to the British crown was the most heinous of crimes in English colonial history:

> Ein Jahr später wurde er [Charles Lawrence] Gouverneur der Kolonie und sollte bald darauf (1755) seinen Namen mit einer der übelsten Gewaltaktionen der englischen Kolonialgeschichte beflecken.[245]

It is interesting to note how markedly the sympathetic treatment of the Acadians in A.E. Johann's book contrasts with comments made by characters in *Roger Sudden*, a historical romance by Thomas Raddall, a Canadian writer of British origin. Johann attests in his novel to having read Raddall, which may help explain his particular rendering of the Acadian question.[246] In Raddall's work, the self-declared neutrality

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[244]*Ans dunkle Ufer*, p.353.

[245]*Ans dunkle Ufer*, p.332.

[246]On page 444 of *Ans dunkle Ufer* Johann provides the following reference to Thomas Raddall and his comment on the drunken and uncontrolled conduct of many of the English seamen in Halifax: "Ja, 'the good old days', wie Thomas A. Raddall in

of the Acadians in the British/French fight for the continent is cynically dismissed by the British protagonist, Roger Sudden:

> 'Oh, come, Martin! Let us be honest with each other. You people have harbored every French expedition against Annapolis for years. You sent provisions, guides, pilots to D'Anville at Chebucto in '47. And what have you to say of Beauséjour? There your Acadians fought openly against the English, in the woods and in the fort.'[247]

Furthermore, the self-contained nature of the Acadian society which Johann paints in a favourable light is described in terms of ignorance, savagery and self-interest by Raddall:

> The Acadians leaned toward Quebec out of sheer hatred and suspicion of the English, but their interest was solely in themselves. Pious and extremely ignorant – not one in a hundred could read or write – they depended utterly upon their priests for knowledge of the world. Hence the sway of Le Loutre, whom they feared but did not dare to hate.
>
> They were hospitable in their own poor fashion, and apart from avarice their only vice was squabbling with each other over boundaries in the meadowland. Their long and close relations with the Indians had given them a half-savage outlook which astonished Roger at times; indeed they were primitives, hating the English as the Micmacs did, yet suspicious of the *Quebecois*, who haggled over the price of beef and talked uncomfortably of tithes and taxes, and friendly only to the savages who were, in fact, a part of them by blood as well as association.[248]

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seiner Geschichte der Stadt Halifax anzüglich bemerkt: die 'gute, alte Zeit'! The book in question is *Halifax: Warden of the North* (1948).

[247]Thomas H. Raddall, *Roger Sudden*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1972. p.225.

[248]*Roger Sudden*, p.223-4.

A.E. Johann continues his depiction of French Canadians in the other two books of his Canadian trilogy, *Wälder jenseits der Wälder* and *Hinter den Bergen das Meer*. These two novels concentrate on the development of the fur trade in Canada and follow the journey of the Corssen family west to Montreal and eventually to the "Pays d'en haut"[249] to establish the fur concern, "McCorssen." In these novels, as in the previous one, the German characters are presented as chameleons who adapt to British, French-Canadian or Indian practices as circumstances warrant. In *Hinter den Bergen das Meer*, the German protagonist, Paul Soldat calls himself a French Canadian and claims that he has left his Old World German identity behind:

> «Sie sind Franko-Kanadier, Monsieur Soldat?»
>
> Soldat dreht an seinem Glase, blickte den Fragenden nicht an und meinte dann, so, als hätte er sich die Sache erst zu überlegen: «Franko-Kanadier, Mister Mackenzie, bin ich erst geworden. Ursprünglich stamme ich, wie Sie auch, aus dem Alten Kontinent, aus Europa, und zwar, wie mein verstorbener Meister, Walther Corssen, aus dem Hannöverschen, also aus Deutschland. Aber das habe ich längst vergessen, ich bin Franko-Kanadier.»[250]

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[249]Johann provides the following definition of the term: "'Pays d'en haut', eigentlich 'Das Land von oben her', alter frankokanadischer Ausdruck für das ferne, unbekannte Innere des amerikanischen Nordwestens." *Wälder jenseits der Wälder*, p.34. According to other sources, the term has been used to designate areas west of Québec or simply the Canadian prairies. *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Second edition, p.1631.

[250]A.E. Johann, *Hinter den Bergen das Meer*. München: Wilhelm Heyne Verlag, 1979. p.10.

In the course of Johann's trilogy, the "French Canadian" label is abandoned for the broader designation "Canadian." At the end of the novel, the narrator concedes that the first generation of true "Canadians" was established with the children of Paul Soldat and Anna Leblois (née Corssen). Even Anna Corssen, who was born in Canada is seen as maintaining some psychological ties to the Old World of her father:

> Erst in der dritten Generation, nämlich für Armand und seine Kinder, fand der Wunsch, der den Großvater Walther Corssen und seine Frau Anke aus der alten europäishen [sic] Heimat an das Gestade der Neuen Welt getrieben hatte, seine Erfüllung. Erst in der dritten Generation war die neue Heimat wirklich gewonnen und wurde zur Pflanzstätte eines neuen Geschlechts. Andere Geschlechter schlossen sich an, nicht nur solche aus schottischem, französischem, englischem, deutschem Blut, sonder bald auch aus schwedischem, isländischem, schweizerischem, dänischem, polnischem, ukrainischem, jüdischem und vereinzelt sogar aus dem der mittelmeerischen Völker Europas.[251]

Thus what began as a French-Canadian focus in *Ans dunkle Ufer* ends as a pan-Canadian image in *Hinter den Bergen das Meer*, the third book of the trilogy.

A French historical novel which deals with a significant event in the history of Lower Canada is Jules Verne's *Famille-Sans-Nom*. The work is based on the events surrounding the 1837 patriote rebellion in Lower Canada led by Louis-Joseph Papineau. The importance of Verne's work in the context of Canadian studies becomes clear when one takes into account the

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[251]*Hinter den Bergen das Meer*, p.508.

attitude of the French-Canadian population to this rebellion. According to Gwynne Dyer and Tina Viljoen, the year 1837 is a crucial one for French Canadians:

> The ancestral myth of the repression of French Canada by the English is generally supposed to derive from the defeat on the Plains of Abraham in 1759, but what really shapes the basic French Canadian perspective is a vague collective memory of the crushing of the Patriotes in 1837.[252]

This legacy of repression is addressed in Verne's historical novel as he uses the rebellion to paint the virtues of French-Canadian culture along with their desire to preserve their way of life and their drive for independence from British rule. The English, who include government officials and a detective hired to bribe a French-Canadian rebel, are depicted as villains who know only how to destroy their colonized peoples: "Mais les Anglais n'ont jamais su s'adjoindre les peuples qu'ils on soumis; ils ne savent que les détruire."[253] However, the narrator proudly asserts that one does not easily destroy a people which has remained faithful to its motherland: "Or on ne détruit pas une nationalité, lorsque la majorité des habitants a gardé l'amour de son ancienne patrie et ses aspirations d'autrefois."[254] Verne's insistence on French-Canadian loyalty to France is somewhat ironic given the

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[252]Gwynne Dyer and Tina Viljoen, "How Britain Crushed the Patriotes," *The Gazette* (Montreal). Sunday, Feb.4, 1990. F-7.

[253]Jules Verne, *Famille-Sans-Nom*. Ed. Francis Lacassin. Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions, 1978. p.41.

[254]*Famille-Sans-Nom*, p.41.

fact that French Canadians cut ties with France after the Revolution.

Critics have also pointed out Verne's deliberate parallels between his use of the French-Canadian people and the plight of the French-population in Alsace-Lorraine. The fact that he continually draws attention to this European region throughout *Famille-Sans-Nom* supports our thesis concerning the European perspective that dominates the treatment of many British, French and German works about Canada. Brune-André Lahalle asserts that Verne's novel "ne s'adresse pas à des Québécois mais à des Français,"[255] and Robert Cohade demonstrates how Verne uses the French-Canadian rebellion as a proposed model of action for the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine:

> Pour séduisantes que soient les hypothèses qui précèdent, le dessein de Jules Verne, lorsqu'il s'informe sur l'Insurrection de 1837, n'est pas, cependant, d'écrire un nouveau roman à la Cooper, un nouveau morceau de propagande anti-anglaise. Il est bien davantage d'apporter soutien et réconfort à ceux de ses lecteurs qui, à ce moment, vivent en Alsace-Lorraine et y subissent l'occupation allemande, de leur proposer un modèle d'action susceptible de les aider à rentrer en possession de leur droits, à obtenir leur retour à la mère patrie.[256]

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[255]Bruno-André Lahalle, *Jules Verne et le Québec (1837-1889). Famille-Sans-Nom*. Sherbrooke: Éditions Naaman, 1979. p.90.

[256]Robert Cohade, "Nouvelle-France et Alsace-Lorraine dans *Famille-Sans-Nom* de Jules Verne (1889)," *Voix et images* 3, iii (avril 1978) p.433.

Verne's recognition of the cultural autonomy of the French-Canadian society during 1837 is illustrated in the narrator's statement that the land they inhabited might still have been called New France because the people have retained seventeenth-century customs.[257] The dedication to agricultural activities, the wholesome, hearty constitution of the French Canadian and the dominant role of the Québécois women in the family home (which in most cases involves the enslavement of husbands, p.145) are identified as some chief French-Canadian characteristics.[258] He also adds: "Il est vrai également que la race française s'est conservée très pure au Canada, et sans mélange de sang étranger."[259] This belief in the "purity" of the French-Canadian race, however, is undercut as Verne himself inadvertently demonstrates in an earlier chapter when he states that the French race mixed with the native Indian population: "...bien des mariages furent contractés entre la race française et la race indigène."[260] Yet the overall ideological purpose of *Famille-Sans-Nom* and

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[257]*Famille-Sans-Nom*, p.81.

[258]In *Famille-Sans-Nom* Jules Verne makes frequent reference to the hale and hearty nature of the habitant (the result of the Canadian climate), stressing among other things, the huge families which approach the size of tribes, the domineering nature of the French-Canadian women, and the longevity of the people in general: "On vit si vieux en Canada qu'on finira par n'y plus mourir! Ce que nous avons d'octogénaires, et même de centenaires!... Cela dépasse les bornes habituelles de la statistique!" p.85.

[259]*Famille-Sans-Nom*, p.81.

[260]*Famille-Sans-Nom*, p.68.

its championing of the French cause overlooks such inconsistencies. Verne's favourable view of Canada is established at the very outset of the novel when Voltaire's famous description of Canada ("quelques arpents de neige") is dismissed by the narrator as one of the poorer statements made by eighteenth-century philosophers.[261] In fact, from this point on Verne intends to demonstrate just how relevant the situation of the French-Canadian population in Canada is through frequent comparisons to the state of Alsace-Lorraine.

Throughout *Famille-Sans-Nom* the United States serves as a model for French Canadians in search of independence. Certain characters even contemplate with delight the thought of becoming part of the U.S.:

> – Les Américains et les Canadiens ne sont-ils pas frères? répondit Vincent Hodge. Et qui sait si le Canada ne fera pas un jour partie de la Confédération américaine!...
>
> – Puisse ce jour venir! répondit M. de Vaudreuil.[262]

According to historians, the French Canadians' realization of independence through American support would not have served much purpose because "even then this new state would not have been likely to escape incorporation in the neighbouring

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[261]The first paragraph of *Famille-Sans-Nom* reads as follows: "'On plaint ce pauvre genre humain qui s'égorge à propos de quelques arpents de glace' disaient les philosophes à la fin du XVIII^{e} siècle – et ce n'est pas ce qu'ils ont dit de mieux, puisqu'il s'agissait du Canada, dont les Français disputaient alors la possession aux soldats de l'Angleterre." p.37.

[262]*Famille-Sans-Nom*, p.279.

republic for very long."[263] The enthusiasm shown by the characters in Verne's story for the United States is echoed in the author's frequent reference to the works by the American writer James Fenimore Cooper whose writing influenced Jules Verne's choice of the adventure novel as one of his favourite genres.[264] Cooper's works may have also played a role in Verne's emphasis on the Indians in *Famille-Sans-Nom*. The Montreal notary, Nick, who is of Huron descent, is one of the more interesting characters in the novel, despite the fact that historically, the Indians on either the French or English side were not involved in any significant way in the events of 1837.

Despite the actual failure of the rebellion in Lower Canada, Verne uses the independent Canada of 1889 as a ray of hope for his readers in Alsace-Lorraine:

> Cependant, si les insurrections avaient avorté, elles avaient semé des germes à plein sol. Avec le progrès que le temps impose, ces germes devaient fructifier. Ce n'est pas en vain que des patriotes versent leur sang pour recouvrer leurs droits. Que celà ne soit jamais oublié de tout pays à qui incombe le devoir de reconquérir son indépendance....
>
> Aujourd'hui, le relâchement des liens avec la métropole est pour ainsi dire complet. Le

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[263]Gwynne Dyer and Tina Viljoen, "How Britain Crushed the Patriotes," *The Gazette* (Montreal), Feb.4, 1990.F-7. The Americans officially declared themselves neutral with respect to the 1837 conflict in Canada.

[264]For a more complete analysis of Cooper's influence on French writers, see Margaret Murray Gibb's study *Le roman de Bas-de-Cuir: étude sur Fenimore Cooper et son influence en France*. Paris: H. Champion, 1927.

> Canada est à proprement parler une puissance libre, sous le nom de *Dominion of Canada*, où les éléments franco-canadiens et anglo-saxons se coudoient dans une égalité parfaite. Sur cinq millions d'habitants, près du tiers appartient encore à la race française.[265]

Thus the novel ends on a positive note for the French-Canadian cause and seems to prophesy the same for the French in Alsace-Lorraine – a prophesy which history has realized.

French Canada also became the focal point for Henri-Émile Chevalier, a prolific French writer of the nineteenth century whose historical romances and adventure fiction were immensely popular. Although a good portion of Chevalier's novels are often guilty of discontinuity, improbable plots and geographical inaccuracies, the works set in or near Montréal (where the author spent eight years of his life) provide some interesting comments on Canada's French population. Novels such as *Le pirate du Saint-Laurent* (1859) and its sequel *Le patriote*, allude to the 1837 rebellion and provide vivid descriptions of Montréal areas such as Côte-Des-Neiges and Lachine. One of his most informative efforts on Québec, however, is *La Huronne: Scènes de la vie canadienne*, first published in 1861. The general plot revolves around two men, Alphonse Mougenot and Alfred Robin, both residing in Montréal during the year 1842. The two men decide to travel to Vancouver in order to rescue Alfred Robin's lover who has been placed in a convent. Frequent reference is also made to the

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[265] *Famille-Sans-Nom*, p.306.

secret society "Les Fils de la Liberté" of which Alphonse and Alfred are members. This society consists of rebels from the 1837 and 1838 uprisings in Canada who continue to harbour a desire for French-Canadian autonomy. Mougenot is described as one of these rebels who found refuge in a Huron camp after the unsuccessful uprising. During this time Alphonse fell in love with his saviour, Yureska, a lovely Huron girl, the last pure-blooded individual of her race. This girl also accompanies Alphonse and Alfred in their search for Alfred's fiancée, and dies at the end of the novel.

Throughout *La Huronne* Chevalier provides lengthy descriptions of French-Canadian regions, customs and activities in order to inform his readers, the majority of whom were European French. He describes the Canadian winters in exuberant terms as one long carnival for "les habitants de notre ancienne colonie" – a view which more sober twentieth-century writers like Louis Hémon and Bernard Clavel dispel.[266] He adds that "peu de peuples ont l'esprit convivial aussi développé que les Canadiens:"[267]

> On se recherche, on se fête; on saute d'un friand dîner à un délicat souper, d'une soirée à un bal. Les toilettes sont luxueuses; le règne animal a été largement mis à contribution pour orner de ses fourrures les épaules des élégantes Canadiennes. Les hommes eux-mêmes sont emmitouflés de pelleteries, et malgré les rigueurs de l'atmosphère, les uns et les autres

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[266]Henri-Émile Chevalier, *La Huronne: Scènes de la vie canadienne*. Nouvelle Édition. Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1889. p.95.

[267]*La Huronne*, p.96.

> passent les jours et même les nuits à se visiter, à mener joyeuse existence chez eux comme au dehors.[268]

Other French-Canadian practices described include the "bees" (bie). These are gatherings held for various kinds of social interaction such as welcoming a new settler, spinning wool or making quilts.[269] Another rite, the "charivari" is also portrayed as being alive and well in Canada.[270] This custom of people gathering to produce raucous, cacophonous sounds and music to accompany questionable marriages is viewed as being solidly ingrained in the populace ("si fortement implantées dans l'esprit et les moeurs populaires, que l'on n'est pas encore parvenu à les déraciner" p.208):

> C'est que le charivari, cette vieille et sotte coutume de nos aïeux, encore pratiquée dans quelques bourgades de France, est en pleine floraison au Canada. Une veuve se remarie-t-elle avant l'expiration de son deuil, vite, un charivari; deux personnes âgées s'épousent, encore un charivari; une vieille

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[268] *La Huronne*, p.95-96.

[269] Chevalier's definition of "bee" or the French-Canadian term "bie" reads as follows: "*Bie*, terme canadien, est une corruption du mot anglais *bee*, qui signifie *abeille* et se prononce *bie*. On appelle faire un bie, une réunion pour travailler en commun à un ouvrage quelconque." *La Huronne*, p.203.

[270] The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary defines "charivari" as "a serenade of 'rough music', with kettles, pans, tea-trays, and the like, used in France, in mockery and derision of incongruous or unpopular marriages, and of unpopular persons generally; hence a confused, discordant medley of sounds; a babel of noise." p.383. In Nova Scotian and other Canadian dialects, the term is sometimes pronounced "chivaree." The German equivalent of the "charivari" is the "Polterabend" which takes place on the eve of a couple's wedding, but which has no malicious overtones.

> femme donne sa main à un jeune homme, ou réciproquement, on les fait danser au son du charivari; faites une cour assidue à une dame, et vous êtes sûr d'un charivari en règle. Rien n'y manquera, ni les lèche-frites, ni les cornets à bouquin, ni les anches de clarinette, ni le cliquetis de la ferraille, ni les tuyaux de poêle, ni les mascarades les plus fantastiques, ni même les coups d'armes à feu.[271]

A particularly insightful view of Québec is contained in Chevalier's depiction of Trois-Rivières as a city suspended in time: "à Trois-Rivières comme en beaucoup d'autres endroits, les anachronismes ne font pas grand'peur."[272] This town is seen as emblematic of the French-Canadian reverance for the past and its strong domestic traditions:

> ...cette localité est, par une de ces fatalités mystérieuses dont la cause déroute l'investigation, est dis-je, restée comme nouée depuis son enfance.[273]

The Mougenot household in this town is also underscored as a place where domestic comfort or "Gemütlichkeit" abounds: "on devait manger longuement, boire lentement et dormir amoureusement."[274]

However, the author of *La Huronne* is also quick to point out the negative side of a small town atmosphere in the gossip and petty rivalries that abound in Trois-Rivières:

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[271]*La Huronne*, p.207.

[272]*La Huronne*, p.136.

[273]*La Huronne*, p.133.

[274]*La Huronne*, p.136.

> Dans les petites villes, la médisance au sucre de bienveillance s'étend à tout et sur tout. Elle est l'âme de la famille, le lien de la société.[275]

There are countless other pictures of Canadian society provided by Henri-Émile Chevalier in his novel, including descriptions of the Montmorency Falls and the history of Canada and its Fur Trade; but we will end our discussion of Chevalier's novel with his comments on that legendary Canadian figure, the voyageur or "coureur de bois." The voyageurs appear in many of Chevalier's works and in various adventure stories written by British and German writers as well. Thomas Moore's adaptation of a voyageur song into his "Canadian Boat Song," which was discussed at some length in the previous chapter, attests to the notoriety of these men. In other examples of European literature about Canada, the voyageurs are treated in a variety of ways. They are either perceived as half-savages, crude, uncivilized and illiterate, or they become associated with a Romantic spirit of adventure and freedom that came to symbolize Canada for so many Europeans. Chevalier alludes to the latter image of the voyageurs and stresses their bravery in the following passage:

> Ces hommes, braves jusqu'à l'audace, et audacieux jusqu'à l'imprudence, sont aussi connus sous le nom de *coureurs des bois*. Leur incomparable habileté dans la navigation des cours d'eau, leur gaieté proverbiale et leur insensibilité aux fatigues et aux privations

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[275] *La Huronne*, p.134.

> leur ont conquis une réputation universelle.[276]

Whatever this reputation may have been, it cannot be overlooked that the voyageurs and their songs[277] became one of the earliest and most widespread images of Canada for Europeans.

A French novel that covers an important event for Canada's aboriginal population as well as for French Canadians is Joseph-Émile Poirier's *Les Arpents de Neige*. This historical novel covers the actions of Louis Riel and the Métis in the North-West Rebellion of 1885. In his "avertissement" to the book, Poirier states that the heroic period in Canada is closed, but that he has endeavoured to capture it "sous une forme saisissante."[278] He ends his note with the hope that both those in favour of and against Riel will accommodate the work:

> Il [l'auteur] espère que les lecteurs des *Arpents de Neige*, ceux qui approuvent Riel, aussi bien que ceux qui le blâment, lui en sauront gré.[279]

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[276]*La Huronne*, p.221.

[277]Chevalier includes a typical voyageur song on pages 237 and 238 of *La Huronne*, remarking that "l'air doux et mélancolique de la romance s'accorde parfaitement avec le mouvement mesuré des pagaies." p.238.

[278]Joseph-Émile Poirier, *Les Arpents de Neige: Roman canadien*. Avec une Préface de M. Adjutor Rivard. Paris: Nouvelle Librairie nationale, 1909, p.xi.

[279]*Les Arpents de Neige*, p.xii.

The preface to Poirier's book, written by the French-Canadian author Adjutor Rivard, underscores the relevance of Poirier's subject matter to French Canadians who have embraced the cause of the Métis against the English government in Canada:

> Ai-je besoin de dire que ce roman excitera chez nous le plus vif intérêt? Sans doute, la scène ne se passe pas dans notre vieille province, nous ne sommes pas les acteurs du drame, et les moeurs décrites ne sont pas les nôtres. Mais les Canadiens français se sont trop passionnés de la cause des métis, pour que ce livre ne leur plaise pas singulièrement. L'auteur, cependant, a eu soin de respecter l'histoire; bien que sa sympathie soit franchement marquée, il ne prend pas plus de libertés qu'il n'est permis à un romancier.[280]

Rivard commends Poirier for adhering to historical accuracy and also points out the advantage of having a foreigner or European treat the Rebellion:

> Écrit par l'un des nôtres, ce roman serait pris pour une thèse; on chercherait à y voir l'expression d'une opinion politique. La révolte des métis a trop profondément ému la population du Canada, le nom de Riel a été mêlé à des luttes trop violentes, et le souvenir en est encore trop vif, pour qu'un Canadien français puisse, sans ranimer certaines polémiques et des haines presque éteintes, prendre pour cadre d'un roman les événements de 1885.
>
> Mais un écrivain de France, pour qui l'espace éloigne davantage ces événements, pouvait le faire. Et il est heureux qu'il s'en soit trouvé un pour l'entreprendre.[281]

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[280] *Les Arpents de Neige*, p.vi.

[281] *Les Arpents de Neige*, p.vi.

Thus Rivard indicates that the events surrounding Riel are still too recent and too vivid in the minds of Canadians, for a French Canadian to undertake the task of writing about them without being accused of promoting a particular political view; an author from France, on the other hand, has the advantage of physical distance from these events which would presumably make his novel more acceptable.[282]

Les Arpents de Neige focuses on the actions of two Métis brothers, Jean and Pierre La Ronde, involved in the 1885 uprising in the Canadian Northwest (Saskatchewan). The first page of the novel describes the Métis in general as "bruns comme des bohémiens"[283] and as men who speak a questionable French: "un français douteux, semblable, à s'y méprendre, au patois bas-normand."[284] In the course of the story a conflict develops between the two brothers as a result of Jean's decision to save two English settlers from his fellow rebels. His "Christian" act is based on his love for one of these settlers, Miss Elsie Clamorgan. Pierre accuses his brother of betraying the Métis cause and falsely blames the death of another rebel, Joseph Lacroix, on his brother. He also deliberately shoots Jean (though not fatally) after the

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[282]Poirier's interesting representation of the North-West rebellion is all the more commendable given the fact that the author never visited Canada. Paulette Collet, *Les Romanciers français et le Canada (1842-1981)*. Sherbrooke: Éditions Naaman, 1984. p.60.

[283]*Les Arpents de Neige*, p.1.

[284]*Les Arpents de Neige*, p.1.

Battle of Fish Creek.[285] However, before Pierre's own death, the brothers reconcile. This feud between the two brothers, one a patriot fully embracing Riel's cause, the other, an individual whose political convictions are softened by his love for an Englishwoman, form an important element of the novel. Poirier also places the Christian beliefs of the Métis in the forefront, particularly those of Riel who declares that God is with him and will not abandon him: "Il ne peut pas m'abandonner tant que je serai utile à la cause de ma patrie et de mon peuple..."[286]

The element of the Métis rebellion in the novel which links their cause to the fight of French Canadians in general is their struggle to preserve their French culture. This goal is also personified in the character of Henri de Vallonges, a Frenchman from France who even after the failure of the rebellion is determined to fight for the rights of the French in Canada:

> Moi, je me suis toujours intéressé à ce pays parce qu'un de mes ancêtres, Guy de Vallonges, a été tué sous Québec avec Montcalm. Mais, bien qu'averti, j'ai été emerveillé de constater quel attachement les Franco-Canadiens des provinces civilisées ont pour la vieille patrie. Et quand j'ai vu les héroiques Bois-Brûlés de la frontière de l'Ouest se faire tuer sous les plis de notre ancien drapeau, puisque c'est le seul qu'ils connaissent, quand j'ai vu

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[285]The Battle of Fish Creek involved the Métis and Indian ambush of General Middleton's soldiers on April 24, 1885 south of Batoche. The Canadians suffered heavy casualties while the rebels lost only four men and held their ground.

[286]*Les Arpents de Nèige*, p.226.

cela, eh bien! j'ai su à quoi m'en tenir désormais sur l'avenir français du Canada![287]

The novel ends with Vallonges and his companion from France, Philippe Dussereaux "décidés à la lutte obscure et pacifique, mais grandiose, pour le triomphe de leur race..."[288]

Poirier suggests in the "avertissement" to *Les Arpents de Neige* that the days of heroism in Canada are gone and can only be relived in fiction. Some critics have seen the failure of the North-West Rebellion as the end of the French phenomenon in Western Canada.[289] This end of a certain era or culture, symbolized by the coureurs de bois and the pre-technological age in the Canadian West, is mourned by the French writer, Maurice Constantin-Weyer. In the preceding chapter, we emphasized Constantin-Weyer's Romantic and melodramatic depiction of the Canadian Northwest in *Un homme se penche sur son passé* as well as his transformation of the Old West into a myth.[290] The arrival of Americans, Slavs and other ethnic groups are seen as a destructive force, violating the Prairie's virginity. It is significant that three French-

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[287]*Les Arpents de Neige*, p.362.

[288]*Les Arpents de Neige*, p.363.

[289]See Douglas Hill, *The Opening of the Canadian West*, London: Heinemann, 1967.

[290]For additional analysis on this subject, see E.D. Blodgett's "Gardens at the World's End or Gone West in French," *Essays on Canadian Writing* 17 (Spring 1980) pp.113-26.

speaking characters, the French narrator, a French-Canadian and a Métis lament the passing of the old way of life, and that the narrator loses his Irish wife to a non-francophone, an Irishman.[291] However, the death of the West in Constantin-Weyer's story cannot be seen in mere linguistic/cultural terms as the death of the French Canadian, for as the narrator's French-Canadian friend asserts, "des Canayens comme moiè"[292] also number among the new migrants to the Prairies. Instead, the story highlights the demise of the heroic individual (the trapper, the cowboy) who relates to the lay of the land and who values the past rather than a future heralded by technological advances. This valorization of a heroic past is rediscovered in the narrator's visit to Québec, where a strong sense of the past prevails as symbolized by the French names that comprise Québec's history:

> Soudain la vitalité canadienne prenait à mes yeux toute son importance historique. Elle continuait lentement, sans se presser, sans effort inutile, mais avec une patiente énergie,

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[291]The tensions resulting from the clash between French and Irish cultures in the novel bring to mind the family background of the legendary French-Canadian poet Émile Nelligan (1879-1941) well known for his sad and nostalgic poetry. Nelligan's mother was a French Canadian and his father, an Irish emigrant. Michel Tremblay's and André Gagnon's 1990 opera *Nelligan* reflects an artistic emphasis on French-English conflicts in Nelligan's family life. The poet's struggle with his own identity was given current relevance by the creators of the opera in the context of linguistic and cultural tensions between anglophone and francophone communities in contemporary Québec.

[292]Maurice Constantin-Weyer, *Un homme se penche sur son passé*. Paris: Les Éditions Rieder, 1928. p.17.

> le rôle qu'avait joué jadis la mère patrie, dans la civilisation...
>
> C'est que j'étais si près des plaines d'Abraham, qu'il me fallait bien, enfin, apprendre l'Histoire! Et les noms des comtés, glorieusement, bourdonnaient à mes oreilles le rythme des grands noms de l'Épopée: Montmagny, Champlain, Maisonneuve, Talon, Montmorency, Laval, Lévis, Vaudreuil, La Salle, Marquette...[293]

Thus it would appear that rather than mentioning the "past" to promote a sense of French-Canadian nationalism or French patriotism, Constantin-Weyer makes use of French Canada or Québec to evoke the emotions and glories associated with days gone by.

For French readers in Europe and French Canadians alike, the essence of the Québécois way of life is perhaps captured nowhere better than in Louis Hémon's *Maria Chapdelaine*. Louis Hémon, who was born in Brest, France in 1880 emigrated to Canada in 1911 and died in Ontario in 1914. Because of the relatively short time he spent in this country, we are treating him as a European writer, since the majority of his life was shaped by the culture and ideas on the other side of the Atlantic. Like the works of Poirier and Constantin-Weyer, Hémon's novel advocates a sense of fidelity to the past. However, unlike Constantin-Weyer, he is more critical of settlers from France who come to Canada as adventure seekers, and who do not have centuries of ties to the Canadian soil like the "habitants":

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[293]*Un homme se penche sur son passé*, p.208.

> C'était l'éternel malentendu des deux races: les pionniers et les sédentaires, les paysans venus de France qui avaient continué sur le sol nouveau leur idéal d'ordre et de paix immobile, et ces autres paysans, en qui le vaste pays sauvage avait réveillé un atavisme lointain de vagabondage et d'aventure.[294]

Throughout his novel, Hémon underscores the unique nature of the Québécois as a race. He points out, for example, the variance in the orthography of words among the inhabitants of this province – words which adhere to no imperious standard:

> Au pays de Québec l'orthographe des noms et leur application sont devenues des choses incertaines. Une population dispersée dans un vaste pays demi-sauvage, illettrée pour la majeure part et n'ayant pour conseillers que ses prêtres, s'est accoutumée à ne considérer des noms que leur son, sans s'embarrasser de ce que peut être leur aspect écrit ou leur genre. Naturellement la prononciation a varié de bouche en bouche et de famille en famille, et lors-qu'une circonstance solennelle force enfin à avoir recours à l'écriture, chacun prétend épeler son nom de baptême à sa manière, sans admettre un seul instant qu'il puisse y avoir pour chacun de ces noms un canon impérieux.[295]

The author of *Maria Chapdelaine* also illustrates the somewhat exclusive nature of Québec society in its belief that the only "Canadians" are French Canadians, a belief that has long since been abandoned by the politics of modern day Québec:[296]

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[294]Louis Hémon, *Maria Chapdelaine*. Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1954. p.47.

[295]*Maria Chapdelaine*, pp.54-5.

[296]In the Québec of the 1990s political and cultural institutions often promote the notion that Québec and the Québécois are to be seen as distinct from "Canadians."

> Lorsque les Canadiens français parlent d'eux-mêmes, ils disent toujours «Canadiens», sans plus; et à toutes les autres races qui ont derrière eux peuplé le pays jusqu'au Pacifique, ils ont gardé pour parler d'elles leurs appellations d'origine: Anglais, Irlandais, Polonais, ou Russes, sans admettre un seul instant que leurs fils, même nés dans le pays, puissent prétendre aussi au nom de «Canadiens». C'est là un titre qu'ils se réservent tout naturellement et sans intention d'offense, de par leur héroïque antériorité.[297]

The above narration of French-Canadian labels and customs appears to be the voice of an objective observer, and reinforces Hémon's European or foreign perspective toward the treatment of Canada in *Maria Chapdelaine*. It is interesting to note that Hémon's identification of the Québécois and their reluctance to recognize other emigrants as "Canadians" is important in the context of current conflicting visions of Canada as held by English-Canadians and French Canadians in Québec.[298]

Perhaps the most compelling image of Québec that surfaces in *Maria Chapdelaine* is the strength of the French-Canadian

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Comparisons between "Québec and Canada" rather than "Québec and the rest of Canada" are made frequently.

[297]*Maria Chapdelaine*, pp.77-8.

[298]Many of the arguments over Québec's desire to increase its powers to promote and preserve its culture lie in the belief of francophones in the province that historically they constitute one of the two founding nations of Canada. The "deux nations" theory was aggressively advanced by Québec nationalist Lionel Groulx. English-Canadians and members of various ethnic groups, on the other hand, tend to view Québec as one of ten provinces and regard francophones as one of the many linguistic groups in Canada. They therefore argue that Québec is not entitled to more privileges than the other members of the Canadian federation.

race as exemplified by its strong roots in Canada, the role of the clergy, and the ties of the habitants to the soil. Near the end of the novel, the main character, Maria hears "la voix du pays de Québec"[299] urging her to stay in her homeland and not venture forth "aux merveilles lointaines."[300] Her decision to stay is, however, cloaked in ambivalence because the commanding voice of Québec extinguishes the desire to try the unknown as it exacts obedience from its people. Yet the voice reminds Maria that it is only through such stubborn resolve that the Québécois have survived:

> «Autour de nous des étrangers sont venus, qu'il nous plaît d'appeler des barbares; ils ont pris presque tout le pouvoir; ils ont acquis presque tout l'argent; mais au pays de Québec rien n'a changé. Rien ne changera, parce que nous sommes un témoignage. De nous-mêmes et de nos destinées nous n'avons compris clairement que ce devoir-là: persister... nous maintenir... Et nous nous sommes maintenus, peut-être afin que dans plusieurs siècles encore le monde se tourne vers nous et dise: «Ces «[sic] gens sont d'une race qui ne sait pas mourir...» Nous sommes un témoignage.
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> «C'est pourquoi il faut rester dans la province où nos pères sont restés, et vivre comme ils ont vécu, pour obéir au commandement inexprimé qui s'est formé dans leurs coeurs, qui a passé dans les nôtres et que nous devrons transmettre à notre tour à de nombreux enfants: Au pays de Québec rien ne doit mourir et rien ne doit changer... »[301]

Québec is thus portrayed as a land suspended in time, where its people stoically preserve their existence as they have

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[299]*Maria Chapdelaine*, p.239.

[300]*Maria Chapdelaine*, p.242.

[301]*Maria Chapdelaine*, p.241.

known it for hundreds of years, resisting the currents of change.

Another French author, whose image of Québec parallels Hémon's, is Bernard Clavel. In the early part of this chapter, we examined his treatment of New France in *Compagnons du Nouveau-Monde*. Clavel's interest in Canada, however, does not end here. He has also authored six novels under the series name "Le Royaume du Nord." These novels include *Harricana* (1983), *L'Or de la terre* (1984), *Miséréré* (1985), *Amarok* (1987), *L'Angélus du soir* (1988), and *Maudits sauvages* (1989) and cover the temporal period from the early twentieth century to the late 1970s. *Harricana* and *L'Or de la terre* generate the images of adversity, economic opportunity and the individual's struggle against the environment in northern Québec which are echoed in the other novels of the series. *Miséréré* focuses on the 1929 depression in Québec which drove city dwellers into the remote northern regions of the province in search of employment. The story of *Amarok* depicts the plight of a young French Canadian who flees into the Québec wilderness after assaulting a police officer. *L'Angélus du soir* deals with one man's attempt to revere the land and the time-honoured tradition of its cultivation, while resisting technological advances. In the course of the novel, he deteriorates mentally and physically. The last volume of the series, *Maudits sauvages*, addresses the theme of "progress" and its impact on the native people of Québec. (This work is discussed more

thoroughly in Chapter Five.) Of the six works in the series, *Harricana*, *L'Or de la terre* and *Maudits sauvages* emerge as the most carefully constructed and compelling stories.

Although Bernard Clavel has written several works with a Canadian theme and has clearly established himself as a writer with a broad audience, he has as one critic points out, been largely ignored, even shunned by the French-Canadian literary establishment: "Bref, un romancier qui a réussi sur tous les tableaux. Sauf un. L'institution littéraire au Québec a tendance à le bouder."[302] He has been accused of catering to popular taste, and his popularity has been equated with questionable literary merit. Clavel's representation of his Canadian images, especially his French-Canadian images, however, are far from trivial. His narratives are enhanced by a poignant, poetic language which draws attention to the survival skills of his characters in the Northern regions of Québec. Although the intimation of catastrophe pervades the storylines in *Harricana* and *L'Or de la terre*, Clavel's affirmation of man's struggle to survive ("l'éternelle lutte de l'homme"[303]) and the energy of his characters also act as important factors in the narratives.

Bernard Clavel's depiction of Canada is largely shaped by the importance and power he ascribes to the land: "Mais les

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[302]François Gallays, "Faut-il brûler Clavel?" *Lettres québécoises* 47 (automne 1987) p.27.

[303]Vincent Landel, "Le laboureur celeste," *Magazine littéraire* 224 (novembre 1985) p.65.

âges de l'homme ne sont rien en regard des millénaires du sol...La terre n'oublie rien..."[304] The force of the land and nature asserts itself in all of the novels in "Le Royaume du Nord" series, but maintains a particularly strong presence in *Harricana* and *L'Or de la terre*. In *Harricana* the question of arable farmland determines the move of the Robillard family to more northern regions of Québec, near the Harricana River where they help found the village, Saint-Georges d'Harricana. The family was originally urged to move to this northern location by Catherine Robillard's brother, Raoul, a coureur de bois whose motherland is the forest:

> Les coureurs de bois sont de l'immensité comme d'autres d'une ville, d'un village ou d'un port. Leur patrie, ce n'est ni le Québec ni le Canada, mais la forêt, les fleuves, les rivières, la piste incommensurable et les neiges infinies.[305]

Raoul's life, like the lives of the Robillard family, is shaped by the land. Because of the enormous importance attributed to the land, "la terre" becomes the protagonist of Clavel's story, much like the mine in Émile Zola's *Germinal*: "Ce sont les terres qui façonnent les hommes. Les terres et tout ce qu'elles portent qui coule, chante au vent, palpite et respire."[306] The rigours of the Canadian climate result in the crippling of Alban Robillard, who loses the use of his

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[304]Bernard Clavel, *Harricana*. Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, S.A., 1983. Éditions J'ai lu. p.28.

[305]*Harricana*, p.61.

[306]*Harricana*, p.61.

legs to frostbite, and in the death of his son George who dies because a doctor cannot be fetched in time. The novel ends with yet another calamity, the destruction of the family general store by a fire; however, the family, in the tradition of Hémon's Québécois characters, is determined to carry on:[307]

> Ils étaient venus là pour faire le pays, ils le feraient. Ils savaient avec certitude qu'ils ne partiraient pas. On ne renonce pas à une ville qui vous a pris votre enfant pour en faire son premier mort...On évoquait les victimes, mais surtout, on s'entretenait de ce qu'allaient entreprendre les vivants.[308]

The narrator states in the above passage that the Robillard family had come to the North to "shape their land." This sentiment is echoed by Raoul elsewhere in the novel when he implies that paradise does not already exist; it has to be earned: "Vous voulez le paradis, faut le gagner!"[309] Clearly, the ethic of hard work is a concept which prevails in Clavel's portrait of Canada and Canadians in "Le Royaume du Nord" series. In *Harricana*, the driving force behind the creation of a paradise is Madame Robillard. It is worth noting that Clavel's depiction of Madame Robillard as the source of vitality, humour and strength in the novel coincides with Jules Verne's characterization of French-Canadian women in

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[307]Subsequent novels in the series attest to the future success of the Robillard family.

[308]*Harricana*, p.313.

[309]*Harricana*, p.104.

Famille-Sans-Nom as being the dominating force in the family. It would appear that the fortitude of Québec women is a stereotype which French writers in Europe like to perpetuate.

Like *Harricana*, the second novel of "Le Royaume du Nord" series, *L'Or de la terre*, establishes the havoc wreaked by nature on human exploits. The action in this novel focuses on the gold fever which hit northern Québec at the beginning of the twentieth century (ca. 1918). The building of a mine near the Harricana River, the feverish excitement that marks the attraction of people to the site in search of riches, and the undertakings of the mine's owner, Maxime Jordan, form the crux of the story. As the plot unfolds, the characters seem less in control of their destiny, and they eventually succumb to the power of this gold fever, the spirit of opportunism that is characterized as a plague:

> Longue passion secouée d'orages, presque aussi vieille que l'humanité, la fièvre de l'or est sur le pays comme la peste sur un peuple.[310]

The plot comes to a head when Jordan, ignoring the warnings from an engineer that the river will flood the mine, urges his miners to drill deeper, and is therefore indirectly guilty of the deaths of these miners once the engineer's prophecy comes true.

While Clavel uses French Canada and French Canadians as the primary subjects in his fiction about Canada, he does so

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[310]Bernard Clavel, *L'Or de la terre*. Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, S.A., 1984. Éditions J'ai lu. p.39.

without the overt nationalistic and patriotic comments that can be found in the works of Jules Verne, Henri-Émile Chevalier and Louis Hémon. His treatment of Québec is inspired by the challenges posed by the immense spaces of the natural environment and by the human struggle to overcome obstacles and tame one's surroundings. Although there are some anti-English statements scattered throughout *Harricana* and *L'Or de la terre*, they do not shape the direction of the works. In a "postface" to *Harricana*, the author even mentions that he took care not to make use of a language familiar only to the initiated:

> L'auteur s'est gardé d'employer un langage qui n'eût été accessible qu'aux initiés. Il n'a gardé des termes locaux que ceux qui, comme *campe*, n'ont pas de véritable équivalent.

Although the language spoken by Clavel's Québécois characters in *Harricana* is far from standard French, it is presumably easier for the author's European readers to comprehend than an accurate representation of any Québécois dialects.

Our analysis of European perceptions of French Canada in literature has yielded a variety of responses to the French-Canadian character. By choosing seventeenth-century New France as a backdrop, writers such as Anne and Serge Golon and Bernard Clavel have managed to emphasize the superstitious and pious nature of the French-Canadian population, as well as the control exercised by the clergy over the laity. Other novelists have stressed the strong will of the Québécois and the Acadian communities to preserve their culture while

fighting for autonomy from British rule. British treatments of French Canada, celebrating the English victory at Québec in 1759, have tended to portray French Canadians in one of two uni-dimensional extremes; they are either viewed as savages who unlike their European cousins in France practise barbaric warfare, or they are seen in idyllic terms as rustic, pious people who should willingly embrace their English conquerors. However, even French writers like Jules Verne and Henri-Émile Chevalier can be taken to task for their exuberant portrayal of the "merry" French-Canadian habitant as a living anachronism, who approaches the long Canadian winters in the spirit of absolute cheerfulness. Why do these European authors insist on such stereotypical portraits of French Canada? Perhaps we can find an answer in the statements made by Michel Tournier, a twentieth-century French novelist, à propos the francophone character in Canada. In his *Journal de voyage au Canada* Tournier declares that the French Canadian is a caricature as a result of his desire to remain distinct from his English-Canadian counterparts. Tournier posits that in order to retain his unique character, the French Canadian deliberately exaggerates his rustic, earthy qualities:

> Il est possible que le Canadien francophone soit un bon exemple de la pression que les minorités subissent de la part des majorités *dans un sens caricatural*. Une majorité oblige chaque membre de la minorité à incarner fidèlement, humblement, servilement, l'image caricaturale qu'elle se fait des gens de son espèce. Ainsi le Noir américain est poussé dans le moule du négro paresseux, voleur et violeur, le juif se doit de se conformer au portrait du

> youpin avare, lâche et laid, l'homosexuel devra avoir une force de caractère et de personnalité hors du commun pour n'être pas la tante tantousant qu'on veut qu'il soit, etc. Cette image est d'autant plus impérieuse qu'il s'agit proprement d'une *caricature*, c'est-à-dire de quelques traits authentiques, mais grossis à l'extrême, généralisés et retenus à l'exclusion de tout autre. Or, en observant les Canadiens francophones, on vient à se demander s'ils n'exagèrent pas comme à plaisir – et pour céder à une pression de la majorité anglophone – leur côté rustique, cul-terreux, homme des bois, tout à l'opposé de l'anglophone urbain et cosmopolite.[311]

Tournier's comments on the generation of a French-Canadian caricature based on a reaction to the cosmopolitan stereotype of the Anglo-Canadian can be applied to the fictional depiction of French Canadians by various European authors. The nationalist, Romantic ideology of certain works which treat Canada's French population as well as their anti-English rhetoric at times results in the exaggeration of the French-Canadian character. The reverse is also true of British works about Canada which seek to glorify their English characters, thereby diminishing the qualities of French Canadians. However, works like Bernard Clavel's *Harricana* and *L'Or de la terre* which do not follow simple ideological, pro-nationalist lines, do not fit into the above category. Clavel's interest seems to lie in the struggle of humanity against the odds, and one way of showing this struggle is to depict the French Canadians of Northern Québec. As a result of

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[311]Michel Tournier, *Journal de voyage au Canada*. Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1984. pp.153-55.

this particular focus, Clavel's characters tend to exhibit universally human qualities, and suffer from far fewer stereotypical depictions than the figures in Henri-Émile Chevalier's stories, for example.

The numerous illustrations of French Canada in this chapter, however, tend to have several things in common. Virtually all of the texts celebrate Canada's past, whether this past constitutes glory in battle, a pre-technology age or the practice of certain customs and rituals. Like depictions of Canada in general, the fictional treatment of French Canada is marked by a nostalgia for adventure and simplicity. Even works that discuss events subsequent to the fall of New France exalt the French presence in Canada and hope for the future autonomy of the French-Canadian population – a hope that many French authors are only able to see as an expression of French-Canadian loyalty to the French motherland, "la mère patrie." Many of these aspirations continue to thrive in the modern day province of Québec with one exception; French Canadians have long since decided to take matters into their own hands, thereby severing the umbilical cord which for centuries tied them to France.

Chapter Five: The Canadian Aboriginal in European Fiction

Durant des siècles, les Blancs nous ont appelés «sauvages». Les missionaires de jadis expliquaient que dans leur langage, c'était une manière de désigner les êtres qui vivent en étroite communion avec la forêt. Plus tard, nous avons appris que pour bien des gens, ce mot signifie grossier, brutal et cruel. Bernard Clavel, *Maudits sauvages*. Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1989. p.281.

'Ich bin darin anders als die meisten Kanadier und Amerikaner, die – besonders an den Grenzen der besiedelten Gegenden – gern auf den 'gottverdammten Indianer' schimpften. Das sogenannte Halbblut fährt da nicht besser, im Gegenteil, man scheint es noch verächtlicher zu behandeln.' Fred Larsen, *Ticket nach Kanada*. Stuttgart: Union Verlag Stuttgart, 1964. p.125.

Of form peculiar, are the face
And features of this Savage Race.
By the projecting, high cheek-bone,
The ESQUIMAUX are chiefly known.
The visage broad, and vacant gape,
With the small chin of peaked shape,
And the nose buried in the cheek;
No mental qualities bespeak.

A Peep at the Esquimaux; or Scenes on the Ice. By a Lady. Second edition. London: H.R. Thomas, 1825. p.25.

The aboriginal people of Canada have occupied a prominent place in nineteenth and twentieth-century European literature set in Canada. Many British, French and German writers have integrated Canadian natives, including the Métis, Inuit and Indians, into their narratives to create an aura of adventure and exoticism. Others have made use of native people to reinforce their own European ideological perspectives such as the superiority of civilized, Christian culture over primitive

practices.[312] Some natives are presented as noble, exotic and skilled in many arts; however, by and large the image of the native that dominates European fiction is a negative one. Aboriginal individuals take the form of murderous pillagers or harmless, but incredibly lazy, and therefore morally inferior beings. Even in more positive portrayals of the aboriginal, authors tend to stress the destruction or extinction of a way of life – an emphasis which contemporary writers of native literature have sought to counteract.[313]

Our examination of the native depicted in European literature, especially fiction, will be divided into three major sections which will focus on the Métis, Inuit and Indian peoples of Canada respectively. Although each of these groups

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[312]Olive Dickason describes the European tendency to dominate the aboriginal peoples of North and South America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: "As far as the East was concerned, Europe realized very quickly that it could only exploit and evangelize by taking indigenous state societies into account. In the Americas, on the other hand, cultures appeared so strange that Europe had difficulty in detecting their underlying order: at first the majority of Amerindians seemed to present a *tabula rasa* ready to be inscribed in any way that Europeans wished." *The Myth of the Savage*, p.38. This European desire to override and "overwrite" the native continues well into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

[313]Thomas King, a native studies scholar, indicates that non-native writers dwell on the extinction of the native rather than affirming the strength of communal values: "This idea of community and family is not an idea that is often pursued by non-Native writers who prefer to imagine their Indians as solitary figures poised on the brink of extinction. For Native writers, community – a continuous community – is one of the primary ideas from which our literature proceeds. *All My Relations: An Anthology of Contemporary Canadian Native Fiction*. Ed. Thomas King. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1990. "Introduction," pp.xiv-xv.

exhibits distinct characteristics and can further be subdivided into sub-cultures, our analysis of the fictional native in nineteenth and twentieth-century British, French and German literature should indicate that many of the generalizations or portraits of native people are applied to all three major groups. The bulk of the fiction about native people seems to single out the "Indian" as its favourite subject, probably because this type occupies an interesting place between the Métis and the Inuit: the Métis, being half-white were viewed as having closer ties to the civilized European race and were therefore not "primitive" enough for a good adventure story, while the Inuit, who lived in Canada's northern regions were undoubtedly too remote; moreover, European settlers did not have the centuries of contact and conflict with the Inuit as they did with the various Indian tribes inhabiting more southern areas. The additional influence of James Fenimore Cooper's depictions of the Indian also plays an important role in the immense popularity of literature about the North American Indian in Europe. Given the propagation of literary images of Indians, it is somewhat surprising for the Canadian writer Pierre Berton to claim that the European image of Canada and of the Canadian native population is exclusively determined by the American film industry's transmission of images.[314] Clearly, European

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[314]"For the *only* consistent impression of us that outsiders have received in this century has come from the motion picture. Books, newspapers, magazines, radio, and

literature produced subsequent to the advent of film as well as that which pre-dates this medium already contains a well defined catalogue of native images – a catalogue which was initially generated independently of North American influences and then later enhanced by the reception of Cooper's fiction in Europe.

The Métis

Let us begin our literary analysis of the treatment of the Canadian native in European literature with the portrayal of the Métis. In our last chapter we already alluded to the legendary status of the Canadian voyageur, many of whom were Métis; however, in this section of the dissertation we will consider other images ranging from the rather ugly and negative to the noble and exotic. In R.M. Ballantyne's adventure novel *The Buffalo Runners: A Tale of the Red River Plains* set in the early part of the nineteenth century, the Métis occupy the role of allies to the two feuding fur companies, the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. The novel focuses on the trials endured by settlers (mainly Scottish) supported by the Hudson's Bay Company who seek to establish a settlement in the Red River region known as

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television have made scarecely any impact beyond our own borders. It is the movies that have projected our image to the world and also, to a considerable extent, to ourselves...If Europeans are baffled when they reach our shores to find that most of us live in cities – and they are – it is because the movies have misled them." Pierre Berton, *Hollywood's Canada: The Americanization of Our National Image*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1975. p.12.

Rupert's Land. The Métis in this novel hunt the buffalo on the Canadian prairie and are numerous enough to ward off attacks by Indians, in contrast to the small numbers of settlers who risk not only raids by Indians, but also attacks by the Northwest Company. Although it would appear that the Métis are a self-reliant and steadfast group, the overwhelming picture of these people is far from positive. They are generally presented as parasites who beg for provisions from the whites and live in lazy bliss. One "half-breed family" is described in the following manner:

> This family, though claiming to be Christian and civilised, was little better than vagrant and savage...Healthy, happy, and heedless, the Dobelle family cared for nothing apparently, but the comfort of the passing hour...[315]

This image of the lazy Métis who lives for the moment is reinforced in the shape of the main Métis character, François La Certe, a "Canadian half-breed" married to a Cree woman. François is too lazy to hunt buffalo, preferring instead to badger gullible whites for handouts. Although this character is at least granted the privilege of intelligible speech in the narrative (his wife's primary form of expression in the book is "hee! hee!), the two make an unscrupulous pair and serve as comic relief:

> As must have been noted by the reader long ere now, this like-minded couple did not possess a conscience between them – at least, if they did it must at that time have been a singularly

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[315]R.M. Ballantyne, *The Buffalo Runners. A Tale of the Red River Plains.* London: James Nisbet & Co. n.d. p.332.

> shrunken and mummified one, which they had managed to keep hidden away in some dark and exceedingly unget-at-able [sic] chamber of the soul.[316]

In addition to obtaining goods which he has no intention of paying back, La Certe also has a nasty habit of allowing his baby girl to smoke tobacco. However, by the end of the novel, the Christian ideology and moral code of the Scottish settlers make their imprint on La Certe's Indian wife who convinces him to work harder and abandon his slovenly ways.[317]

The image of the lazy, good-for-nothing Métis is reinforced in a French work of the twentieth-century, Maurice Constantin-Weyer's prose work *Clairière: Récits du Canada*. The narrator of this series of recollections is a Frenchman living in Western Canada who refers to the Métis as "gens sociables"[318], but who also points out the lackadaisical and drunken nature of his hired hand, Patrice La Ronde:

> La raison d'être de Patrice La Ronde était de garder mes chevaux et mes vaches, moyennant une somme d'argent, en réalité minime. Patrice

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[316]*The Buffalo Runners*, p.296.

[317]In Ballantyne's novel *Ungava: A Tale of Eesquimau Land* (London: Ward, Lock & Co, Ltd., n.d.) a "half-breed" by the name of Gaspard is initially depicted as mean and inspires fear in Edith, a young child in the story. He is referred to as a "piebald" by a white settler and described as "a fine specimen of an animal, but not by any means a good specimen of a man" (p.23). However, as the narrative progresses, for no apparent reason he is transformed into a less dreadful figure and no longer seems to frighten little Edith.

[318]Maurice Constantin-Weyer, *Clairière: Récits du Canada*. Paris: Librairie Stock, 1929. p.42.

> faisait garder les chevaux par son neveu. Lui-même préférait dormir, ou jouer du violon, ou apprendre à ses enfants à danser la «jig», ou s'en aller «fêter» avec un ami. Martial gagnait pour lui cet argent. Patrice en buvait la plus grande partie.[319]

However, the narrator states that he has accepted the flaws of the Métis, even the fact that Patrice steals from him, and admits that in some ways he is better than many a white man:

> Plus, il avait la malicieuse et délicieuse sensation, en travaillant pour lui, et en recevant chaque mois mon argent, de me voler un peu. Je le comprenais, et je lui pardonnais. Patrice manquait d'honnêteté, mais il ne manquait pas de coeur. Je rencontrai Patrice qui avait vu les vaches égarées. Il me renseigna sur leurs faits et gestes, et il m'offrit même de m'aider à les ramener. En stricte équité, il s'agissait là de son devoir. Mais il sut le faire valoir comme un service véritable. Avec un homme blanc, je me serais fâché. Mais Patrice n'était pas un homme blanc. Il appartenait à une race mêlée que je connaissais bien, et, lorsque j'avais accepté de louer son travail, j'avais tacitement aussi accepté de louer les défauts de Patrice. Je le savais ivrogne, paresseux et menteur. Avec cela, il valait encore mieux que beaucoup d'hommes blancs.[320]

Here the narrator in *Clairière* alludes to the pitiful life of the Métis. Not all images of their lifestyle, however, are necessarily negative. Their French, though far from standard, is represented in a colourful and expressive dialect.

A completely different view of the Métis is provided in Joseph-Émile Poirier's historical novel *Les Arpents de neige*.

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[319]*Clairière*, p.30.

[320]*Clairière*, pp.61-2.

In our last chapter we discussed the subject of the novel, the Northwest Rebellion, in the context of French-Canadian nationalism. This rapprochement between the Métis in Western Canada and the Québécois emphasizes the "French" aspect of the Métis; in fact, one could argue that Poirier's sympathetic treatment of the Métis is largely due to his desire to evoke a sentimental link between the French-speaking peoples of North America and those of France. Unlike Ballantyne's Métis in *The Buffalo Runners*, Poirier's characters are for the most part good Catholics and heroic men of principle. Again this positive portrayal of the Métis is undoubtedly motivated in part by Poirier's European ideology and the desire to highlight the "Frenchness" in what would otherwise be poor savages with no redeeming factor. ("on est de pauvres Françâs sauvages, mais on est de bien bons Françâs tout de même"[321]) In the author's hierarchical scheme, the Métis clearly occupy a position beneath the white francophones, but are viewed as superior to the Indian who are often ascribed the role of stupid, drunken traitors.

Yet another dimension of the Métis in European literature is that of the exotic half-breed. The subject of this kind of treatment is usually a woman (although Poirier's *Les Arpents de Neige* plays on the magnetism between an Englishwoman Elsie Clamorgan and her Métis protector Jean La Ronde). The German

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[321]Joseph-Émile Poirier, *Les Arpents de Neige: Roman canadien*. Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1909. p.345.

writer A.E. Johann paints an interesting portrait of a Métis woman in *Wälder jenseits der Wälder*. In this novel, the German protagonist, Walther Corssen finds his second love in the form of a Métis by the name of Omimee. The girl was given the French name Evangeline by her father; however, her entire life has been spent in the company of the Cree, since her mother was a Cree Indian. Although this Métis obviously has more in common with her Indian heritage than with her French or white culture, Walther is initially attracted to her because of her resemblance to his first wife, Anke, a German:

> ...Sie, seine Anke! Hatte Gott sie in seiner furchtbaren Unbegreiflichkeit ihm, da er schon alterte, zum zweitenmal in den Weg geführt?
>
> Denn diese Halbblutindianerin, die ihm noch immer keinen Blick schenkte, sah dem Erinnerungsbild, das er von der Mutter seiner Kinder ganz unverblaßt im Herzen trug, auf bestürzende Weise ähnlich, wenn auch – eigentümlich erregend – ins Wildere, Unbedingtere abgewandelt, so als hätte die Anke von früher die Entwicklung des geliebten Mannes begleitet, hätte sich ihr angepaßt, hätte wie Walther die aus der alten Welt stammenden Bindungen mehr und mehr abgestreift, wäre mit ihm in das vogelfreie Nichts und Niemandsland des Nordwesten, des 'gesetzlosen', des 'rechtlosen', des unendlich wahrhaftigen Pays d'en haut vorgedrungen.
>
> Dunkler war ihre Haut – aber nur um einen Schatten dunkler als Ankes Haut gewesen war. Ihre Backenknochen zeigten sich ein wenig betonter, deutlicher als auf Ankes Antlitz und ihre Lippen um eine Ahnung üppiger. Doch ihre Ohren waren genauso klein, fest, rund und dicht anliegend wie unter Ankes nicht ganz so dunklem Haar.
>
> Mein Herr und Gott – ja! Dies war seine Anke, war es noch einmal neu, aus dem vergangenen und überwundenen Wesen der alten

> Heimat in das der neuen, großartig grenzenlosen Heimatlosigkeit übertragen.[322]

As the story unfolds Walther does begin to acknowledge Omimee's individuality and her many skills; he even decides to marry her according to Cree tradition in order to establish close links to the Indians, thereby facilitating trade with this group. However, the initial stress on her resemblance to a European as well as Walther's initial tendency to call her by her French name, Evangeline, highlights the superimposition of European, in this case, German ideology on the native. By first linking Omimee to the European world-view, the author seems to suggest that her relationship with Walther is rendered more acceptable, and Omimee given more credibility as a character. Once this bond has been established, the author is free to dwell on the girl's Indian heritage and her more passionate constitution. However, a sign that A.E. Johann may have been somewhat uncomfortable with the Walther/Omimee relationship is the fact that both Omimee and her son Valentin die of smallpox near the end of the novel. Only the progeny of Walther's marriage to Anke survive as characters and become the subject of Johann's the third novel in the trilogy, *Hinter den Bergen das Meer*.[323]

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[322]A.E. Johann, *Wälder jenseits der Wälder*. München: Wilhelm Heyne Verlag, 1976. pp.241.

[323]It is also significant that in *Hinter den Bergen das Meer*, Paul Soldat's Métis daughter, Nagamoun, is tragically killed hours before she is to marry her childhood love, Armand Leblois. p.450. This event combined with the continuation of the European line of characters suggest Johann's artistic

While A.E. Johann portrays a Métis woman who is the product of a union between a Frenchman and an Indian, the French author, Victor Forbin focuses on a Métis of French and Eskimo or Inuit heritage in *La Fée des Neiges: Roman esquimau*. Forbin is much less tolerant of the Inuit way of life than Johann is of Indian culture; the work blatantly promotes the European or white lifestyle and denigrates the customs of the Eskimo people. We will reserve more specific comment on the depiction of the Eskimo in this novel for a later section of this chapter. However, at this point the Métis character in the novel will be discussed in some detail.

The main character in *La Fée des Neiges* is Geneviève Asselin, the daughter of a French-Canadian man and an Inuit woman. At the outset of the novel, the girl (whose Eskimo name is Nanouliak) is working at an exposition in France for the Canadian Fur Company and has posed for the painting of a young Frenchman, Louis Bertain. In France and then later in North America when Geneviève seeks to rejoin her mother's people in the Arctic, she feels the tension of being caught between two worlds. She tells her friend Louis Bertain of this conflict:

> 'Vous n'avez pas deux âmes qui s'entre-déchirent dans une lutte sans merci. Vous n'êtes pas comme nous, les sangs-mêlés, qui sommes douloureusement tiraillés par deux natures irréconciliables.'[324]

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response to the Nazi concept of "Rassenschande" or the unethical mixing of races.

[324]Victor Forbin, *La Fée des Neiges: Roman esquimau*. Paris: Librairie Baudinière, 1926. p.17.

In Europe, Geneviève resents the European label of savage to designate her people; she feels strongly about her Inuit heritage and wants to travel to the Arctic in order to help her people unite and prosper as a race. However, once she arrives in the Canadian North, she has some difficulty adjusting to the reality of Eskimo life. On the one hand, she is repulsed by the Eskimo who have been "converted" by the Moravians and who have lost their former identity as great hunters and free individuals. Her first act is to return an Inuit man Amarak to the glory of his youth by reinstilling in him the desire to hunt and abandon his dependency on the comfortable life the Moravians have created for him. She truly believes that her mission in the frozen north is to liberate her race from the bondage of civilization; Geneviève or Nanouliak therefore views herself as "l'émancipatrice de sa race maternelle."[325] On the other hand, as she spends more time among her mother's people, Nanouliak's experiences in the white world among Europeans cause her to question some of the practises of the Inuit. For example, she is horrified at the thought of women killing their newborn and at the negativity of the belief system which consists primarily of evil spirits. Nanouliak also begins to wonder whether it will be possible for her to truly love an Eskimo man after spending so much time in the civilized world where she fell in love with Louis Bertain. Furthermore, her previous exposure to the European

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[325]*La Fée des Neiges*, p.69.

system of values encourages her to apply the ideology of the white man to her program of reform. She attempts to teach the Inuit about the positive notion of the Christian afterlife and urges them to abandon their tradition of hatred for the whites and their code of revenge.

The great irony of *La Fée des Neiges* lies in the notion that a Métisse, and not a pure-blooded Eskimo is portrayed as the saviour of the Eskimo race. Geneviève and her half-brother Oayouk make use of her knowledge of the white world to impress the Inuit with her wisdom and power, while at the same time promoting her as one of them. (She speaks the language of the Inuit and eventually takes an Inuit husband in order to fully integrate into the community.) Yet the concept of the Métis is also cloaked in a kind of ambivalence, for knowledge of both the white and the Eskimo worlds means that Nanouliak cannot fully integrate into either. In both cases she seems to become the victim of a society that seeks to exploit her "difference." The close of the novel suggests that Geneviève eventually opts for the society of the white man; she calls herself a "Canadienne"[326] and abandons her Eskimo name for her Canadian name Geneviève Asselin. Bertain who arrives in the north with a scientific expedition encourages Geneviève to return to France "dans le giron de [sa] vraie race"[327] as his subject for a new painting. The novel's conclusion leaves

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[326]*La Fée des Neiges*, p.248.

[327]*La Fée des Neiges*, p.255.

no doubt that the ideology of the European as symbolized by Louis Bertain ultimately prevails. However, Geneviève's place as a Métis in France remains problematic. Bertain appears to exploit the exoticism of her Eskimo heritage as well as her femininity to further his artistic career, just as Geneviève's half-brother sought to exploit her ties to the civilized world to acquire power. Thus, Geneviève/Nanouliak can be viewed as a victim of circumstance as well as a pawn in a power-hungry, male-dominated society.

The Inuit

European interest in the Inuit of Canada is best reflected in the number of non-literary works about this aboriginal group published during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the nineteenth century British writings seem to outnumber French and German works. The sheer length of the titles often provides a detailed summary of the subject matter. Some representative titles of works published in Britain include Alexander McDonald's *A narrative of some passages in the history of Eenoolooapik, a young Esquimaux, who was brought to Britain in 1839, in the ship "Neptune" of Aberdeen: an accounnt of the discovery of Hogarth's Sound: remarks on the northern whale fishery, and suggestions for its improvement,...* (Edinburgh: Fraser & Co., and J. Hogg, 1841), Thomas Boyles Murray's *Kalli, the Esquimaux Christian: a memoir* (London: Printed for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1856), Charles Francis Hall's *Life with*

the Esquimaux: a narrative of Arctic experience in search of survivors of Sir John Franklin's expedition from May 29, 1860 to September 13, 1862 (London: S. Low, Son, and Marston, 1865, Popular Edition), Henrik Rink's *Tales and traditions of the Eskimo: with a sketch of their habits, religion, language and other peculiarities* (Edinburgh; London: W. Blackwood, 1875), and Sir William Edward Parry's *Parry's third voyage for the discovery of a north-west passage in the years 1824 and 1825: with an account of the Esquimaux* (London; Glasgow: Blackie, 1894.

French works of non-fiction published during the nineteenth century appear less numerous. Father Émile Petitot authored several works including *Monographie des Esquimaux Tchiglit du Mackenzie et de L'Anderson* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1876), *Vocabulaire français-esquimau: dialecte des Tchiglit des bouches du Mackenzie et de l'Anderson, précédé d'une monographie de cette tribu et de notes grammaticales* (Paris: E. Leroux; San Francisco; A.L. Bancroft, 1876), and *Les grands Esquimaux* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, 1887). Another Frenchmen, Gabriel Gravier, used Petitot's experiences with the Eskimo as the subject for his own work *L'abbé Petitot chez les Grands Esquimaux* (Rouen?: s.n. 1888).

German books published during this period consist of G.E. Burkhardt's *Die evangelische Mission unter den Eskimo's in Grönland und Labrador* (Bielefeld: Velhagen und Klasing, 1857), Emil Bessels' *Einige Worte über die Inuit (Eskimo) des Smith-*

Sundes: nebst Bemerkungen über Inuit-Schädel (s.l.: s.n., 18--?) as well as a German translation of Inuit folk songs *Imgerutsit nôtiggit 100: Hundert eskimoische Lieder: freie Übersetzungen und Nachbildungen deutscher Volksgesänge* (Leipzig: E. Pöschelib, 1872), which also contains a collection of German folk songs translated into the Inuit language. The volume includes well known songs like "Weisst du, wie viel sterne[sic] stehen," "Komm lieber mai[sic] und mache," and "Winter ade! scheiden[sic] tut weh."

As we have frequently noted, the twentieth century seems to mark a decline in British interest in Canada, and in this respect the subject of the Canadian Inuit is no exception. One example of a turn of the century British work is *Eskimo Hymns. Church of England [Book of Common Prayer] Portions of the Book of Common Prayer together with hymns and addresses in Eskimo* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1900). In France *Arlok L'Esquimau* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1965) was published; however, this work was produced by Maurice Métayer, a French-Canadian collector of Inuit stories. Germany seems to have pursued the subject of the Inuit more eagerly than either France or Britain in terms of publishing translations of European or North American works on the Inuit as well as its own studies or translations of Inuit legends. For example, books by the Danish writer Peter Freuchen (e.g. Peter Freuchen, *Der Eskimo*. Ed. Jan Kressin. Trans. Erwin Magnus. Berlin: Freitag Verlag, 1982) as well as Maurice

Métayer (*Geschichten der Eskimos* Trans. Herta Halle-Scherer, Angelika Mende. Aachen: Missio aktuell Verla 1982) and Wally Herbert (*Eskimos*. Ed. Vitalis Pantenburg. Würzburg: Arena Verlag, 1984.) have been translated into German. Other publications written by Germans include Hans-Georg Bandi's *Urgeschichte der Eskimo* (Stuttgart: Fischer, Gustav Verlag, 1965), *Die Eskimo* (Introduction by Otto Zerries. München: Staatlichen Museum für Völkerkunde, 1978) and Hans Erpf's *Das große Buch der Eskimo. Kultur und Leben eines Volkes am Rande des Nordpols* (Oldenburg and Hamburg: Verlag Gerhard Stalling AG, 1977). Paul Sock edited a collection of *Eskimomärchen* (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1984).

The Inuit do not appear to have been as popular a subject of nineteenth and twentieth-century European fictional literature as the Métis or the native Indian. German writers seem to have preferred anthropological or sociological studies of the Inuit to fictional treatments. Nevertheless, some interesting presentations of the Inuit can be found in British and French literature. Jules Verne includes the Inuit in his *Le pays des fourrures* (1873), a novel set in the frozen North. The general plot of the novel involves an expedition, consisting of representatives of the Hudson's Bay Company as well as other travellers, who leave Fort Reliance (now part of the Northwest Territories) to establish a fur post in the High Arctic. The chosen site lies at Cape Bathurst; however, the party of explorers unwittingly chooses an island as the site

for Fort Esperance – an island which has become detached as a result of an earthquake. In the course of the narrative, they worry about being swept away from the American continent by the strong northern currents. During their construction of the fort, the members of the expedition had met a group of Eskimos who failed to inform the party of their precarious location because of their "deplorable Inuit reserve." In addition, the narrator suggests that the aborigines resented the white settlers for invading their territory:

> Mais avec cette déplorable réserve particulière à leur race, peut-être aussi poussés par ce sentiment qu'éprouve tout indigène pour l'étranger qui fait prise de possession en son pays, les Esquimaux ne dirent rien au lieutenant Hobson, dont l'établissement était alors achevé.[328]

This group of Inuit also includes a young Eskimo girl who is more civilized than the rest, having spent some time in the service of a Danish Governor in Greenland whose wife taught her a few words of English. She quickly befriends an Englishwoman and world traveller in the group by the name of Paulina Barnett, who Verne paints as the heroine of his tale. Kalumah, the Eskimo girl attempts to return the following year to visit the group, but since the island has moved she cannot immediately find her friends. Through some strange coincidence she eventually discovers their location and proves invaluable in helping them survive on the "île errante." Yet despite her

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[328]Jules Verne, *Le pays des fourrures*. Louisville: Stanké, 1985. p.301.

obvious usefulness and survival skills, she becomes very dependent on Paulina Barnett. The latter exercises her influence by helping the girl perfect her English and by teaching her to read and write. However, Kalumah's attachment reaches the point of self-degradation when Verne portrays her dog-like devotion to Mrs. Barnett: "Kalumah était couchée comme un chien auprès de sa maîtresse et cherchait à la réchauffer."[329] At the end of the story, this young Inuit refuses to leave Miss Barnett and accompanies her back to Europe: "...Mrs. Paulina Barnett, Kalumah qui ne voulait plus se séparer d'elle, Madge et Thomas Black comptaient retourner en Europe par San-Francisco et les États-Unis."[330] Like other European works about Canada, *Le pays des fourrures* shows how once again the values of European civilization exert their powerful influence on the native; the Eskimo girl only becomes an "acceptable" literary character through her contact with the civilized world, in this case embodied by an Englishwoman. So pervasive is the ideology of "civilization" that no mention is made of consequences attached to Kalumah's loss or abandonment of Inuit culture.

The negative image of the Inuit seems to intensify in French literature in Victor Forbin's *La Fée des Neiges*. Forbin's novel can be read as a quest for, and ultimate dismissal of, the "real" Eskimo. One can in effect perceive

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[329]*Le pays des fourrures*, p.416.

[330]*Le pays des fourrures*, p.424.

three distinct images of the Inuit in the novel: 1) the ideal Eskimo, 2) the tamed savage, and 3) the real or primitive Eskimo. The ideal Eskimo can in turn be broken down into the images of the Inuit held by the French painter Louis Bertain and by the half-breed Inuit girl Geneviève Nanouliak before her experiences in the frozen North. Louis Bertain's interest in the Eskimo is an artistic one; he ironically uses a Métis as his model to capture Romantic images of the Inuit and their life for his European audience. He is less than enamored with the actual reality of Eskimo life which he views as "une longue suite de privations et de périls,"[331] and he warns Geneviève that her place is in the civilized world, not among savages. Geneviève also has an ideal vision of the Inuit; a vision motivated by her desire to help her people unite in order to preserve their culture. This ideal was nurtured by her childhood memories and sustained in the comfort of civilization. During her travels to Labrador, she encounters the second image of the Eskimo emphasized in the novel, that is, the tamed savage. These natives have been "civilized" and "Christianized" by the Moravians and have consequently become "misérables esclaves"[332] accustomed to a comfortable life where they no longer need to rely on their former skills as hunters.

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[331] *La Fée des Neiges*, p.16.

[332] *La Fée des Neiges*, p.32.

In the course of the narrative, Geneviève/Nanouliak discovers the third kind of Inuit, the "real" Eskimo. During Geneviève's experiences in the North, this reality becomes synonymous with the image of the Inuit that she condemned Europeans for sharing:

> 'Laissez-les croire, en ignorants qu'ils sont que les Esquimaux ne mangent que de la viande crue, qu'ils ne se lavent jamais le visage, qu'ils égorgent les vieillards impotents, qu'ils étranglent ou abandonnent aux bêtes les nouveau-nés qui les gênent...'[333]

All of the above acts are carried out by the Eskimos portrayed in the novel. Consequently Geneviève, who previously condemned Amarak for submitting to the conversion by the Moravians, ironically tries to modify the "real" Inuit by introducing Christian principles into the lives of these natives in order to prevent them from continuing many of their "barbarous acts"; however, she fails because these people apparently cannot comprehend intellectual concepts of morality. The climax of the novel occurs when the Métis is encouraged to give herself to the shaman or sorcerer by the Inuit including her own mother. She refuses because she has married Amarak and her own moral code does not permit her to do so, upon which her mother declares "Tu n'es pas une vraie Esquimaude!"[334]

This crucial event in the text, coupled with the sorcerer's attempted rape of Geneviève, forces the Métis to

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[333]*La Fée des Neiges*, p.12.

[334]*La Fée des Neiges*, p.184.

abandon her ideal of a golden age among her people and recognize instead their inevitable demise:

> Rêves stupides que son ignorance avait faussement vêtus de beauté! Rêves douloureusement grotesques engendrés par son orgueil de race! L'Age d'Or qu'elle était venue revivre avec sa tribu? L'Age de Sang! L'Age de Bestialité! Une cohue de sauvages maintenus dans l'abrutissement par leurs faux prêtres! Une culture pétrifiée, irrémédiablement impuissante à evoluer vers le mieux, condamnée à retrograder de plus en plus dans la barbarie avant de disparaître, balayée par la civilisation des blancs! Pauvre sotte, naïve illuminée, qui s'était crue de taille à changer les destinées de ce peuple, à le remorquer contre le courant!...[335]

The young girl decides to abandon the coarse reality of the Eskimo and returns to the insulated, non-threatening world of art with her friend Louis Bertain who intends to use her as a model to paint a sequel to his first painting *La Fée des Neiges*. As a result, Geneviève becomes a "false Inuit" or merely the image of an Inuit. Thus the symbol of the Eskimo or the artistic conception ironically transcends the cruel reality.

In Constantin-Weyer's *Un sourire dans la tempête* only a few passing references are made to the Inuit, and they are far from favourable:

> Mais ma répulsion physique pour les Esquimaudes égalait ma répulsion morale. Je crois qu'on ne me le pardonnait pas. Les hommes eux-mêmes m'en voulaient de tenir leurs femmes pour quantités négligeables. Après tout, ils se sentaient peut-être privés de menus cadeaux auxquels

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[335] *La Fée des Neiges*, pp. 222-3.

> d'autres chefs de poste les avaient habitués pour l'amour de leurs belles.[336]

The narrator's disgust for the physical characteristics of the Eskimo women as well as their mores can be attributed to his disapproval of mixed relationships. He states that marriages between whites and natives of all kinds including the Métis, Inuit and Indian races are incompatible due to inherent differences in perception and culture:

> Je savais que, même quand un blanc et une femme rouge, esquimaude, ou métisse s'unissent, un drame naît dans leur vie. Ils ont vite fait de s'apercevoir qu'ils ne se comprennent pas. Les mots n'ont pas le même sens pour l'un que pour l'autre. Ils interprètent même différemment le silence. Ils se défient l'un de l'autre.[337]

An apparent distaste for the comingling of white and native races in literature about the native is also present in Poirier's *Les Arpents de Neige* where the Métis Jean La Ronde is attracted to an Englishwoman. Although the attraction constitutes the stuff of romance fiction, Poirier does not legitimize the sentiment through marriage; instead Jean La Ronde marries the Métis woman in love with him. This scenario resembles a native/white relationship in *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826). In this novel James Fenimore Cooper refrains from representing the realization of a romantic relationship

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[336]Maurice Constantin-Weyer, *Un sourire dans la tempête*. Saint-Boniface: Éditions des Plaines, 1982. p.15.

[337]*Un sourire dans la tempête*, p.14.

between his Indian character Uncas and a white woman, Cora.[338]

A nineteenth-century British work which examines the customs of the Inuit is *A Peep at the Esquimaux; or, Scenes on the Ice* (1825). The poem written by "A Lady" is followed by another short poem "On Seeing A Snow Buntin [sic] Sitting on Its Nest, In the Grave of an Esquimaux Child" (which is presumably written by the same lady) and by "A Polar Pastoral" written by the author's friend. The collection of poems are preceded by a fictional introduction detailing the visit of a mother and her two girls to the Soho bazaar. One of the girls, Harriet, asks her mother whether she can buy a book entitled *A Peep at the Esquimaux* and her mother acquiesces "having always felt great sympathy towards the poor savages which it attempted to describe."[339] The poem is divided into a number of sections each of which discusses various aspects of Eskimo life including the animals the natives hunt, the tools and materials they use, their dress, manners and customs. Each

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[338]"Many readers of the novel, since it was first published, have supposed that Uncas and Cora were preserved through so many trials for a happier end. Cooper sets up romantic expectations for the two of them and then denies them; the author will not allow them to survive and marry because they are of different races." Gordon Johnston, "An Intolerable Burden of Meaning: Native Peoples in White Fiction," *The Native in Literature*, Eds. Thomas King, Cheryl Calver and Helen Hoy. ECW Press, 1987. p.59.

[339]*A Peep at the Esquimaux, or Scenes on the Ice. To which is annexed, A Polar Pastoral. With Forty Coloured Plates, from Original Designs.* By a Lady. Second Edition. London: H.R. Thomas, 1825. Introduction, p.viii.

division is accompanied by appropriate illustrations. The verse is written in iambic quadrameter, and the general purpose of the work seems instructive, even though the tone of the speaker sometimes suggests disapproval of some Eskimo practices. The reader is told that the race is not particularly handsome:

> The Women can no beauties boast,
> Their nose, amongst the cheeks is lost;
> Their eyes are sparkling, black, and small,
> The lips are prominent in all;
> ...
> Coarse raven locks adorn their head;
> Land, and in wild disorder spread;[340]

Yet despite the drawbacks of the race and its strange customs, the speaker of the poem excuses the behaviour of the Inuit because she claims that they are relatively harmless in their ignorance:

> Contented on this dreary spot,
> Not knowing any better lot,
> The humble Savage spends his life,
> Exempt from sorrow, and from strife:
> No sullenness, nor pining care,
> His guileless features ever wear.
> No crime, nor flagrant vice he knows,
> Nor angry passion ever shews.
> Free from revenge, from craft, and pride,
> Mirth and good humour are his guide;
> And e'en when pinching want assails,
> His patient spirit never fails.
> In ign'rance bred, to Nature true,
> His faults, indulgently we view.
> No good example meets his eye,
> When wallowing in gluttony:
> His filthy habits unsubdu'd,
> His manners gross, his gestures rude.
> No friendly hand assists to teach;
> Instruction comes not in his reach;
> And scarcely knowing good from ill,

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[340] *A Peep at the Esquimaux*, p.27. ll.1-4 and ll.7-8.

Being untaught, he's blameless still.[341]

This view of the Eskimo is far more benevolent than the image presented in *La Fée des Neiges* or in *Un sourire dans la tempête*. Nevertheless it is a condescending image because it promotes the Inuit as little more than a curiosity or anomaly.

The poem which follows this work ["On Seeing A Snow Buntin [sic] Sitting on Its Nest"] is more melancholy in tone and describes a bird nesting on the grave of an Eskimo infant who can no longer hear the song of the bird. This work is in turn followed by "A Polar Pastoral" the subject of which is a love quarrel between a young Eskimo couple. The young girl, who has been enchanted by the gifts brought by European ships, shows disdain for her lover. He, however, manages to win her love again by boasting of the treasures he fashioned for this girl and by mentioning the noble deeds carried out on her behalf. Except for the inclusion of Eskimo terminology and the subject matter, the style of the poem is characteristic of eighteenth-century English love poetry written in heroic couplets. The final picture is one of hope and felicity as the speaker fuses images of a fairyland with Eskimo beliefs and Christian ideology:

> To such kind mortals, Heav'n in mercy grant,
> Constant content, and ignorance of want!
> Yield them abundance of the walrus host—
> Let whales and unicorns frequent their coast!
> And eider ducks be caught with caution nice,
> With fattest seals, abounding on the ice!

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[341] *A Peep at the Esquimaux*, p.41.

> May they enjoy these blessing, while time rolls,
> And, when life ceases, reach the "Land of Souls."
> There, with their ancestors, in plenty roam,
> And gaily traverse the celestial dome;
> In the Aurora, flash their figures bright,
> And leave this dreary clime, for endless light![342]

R.M. Ballantyne's *Ungava: A Tale of Esquimau Land* is a British adventure story set in Canada's frozen north among the Inuit. The plot of this novel revolves around the establishment of a Hudson's Bay Company trading post in the Ungava Bay region. The company of settlers are instructed to bring about peace between the feuding Eskimo and Muskigon Indians in the area. The novel clearly favours the Eskimo; the Indians, on the other hand, are cast as the aggressors. In one scene, for example, an Indian abducts the wife of an Inuit man and makes her his own spouse. When the Inuit's wife is restored to him, he is gracious enough to accept the girl's adopted Indian mother-in-law who in turn helps the two escape when they are recaptured by the Indian band. This event is one of the many adventurous subplots in the story. However, as with so many other European novels set in Canada, *Ungava* stresses the actions of the white characters more than those of the natives. A particularly unusual individual is an Irishman by the name of Bryan whose colourful Irish brogue complements his comic exploits. In addition, Edith, the daughter of the expedition leader George Stanley manages to

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[342]"A Polar Pastoral," pp.57-58.

get involved in a number of perilous situations. Given this focus on the white settlers, the Eskimos occupy a less prominent place in the narrative than one would expect from the title. Although three Eskimo interpreters comprise the party of settlers, they are not integrated into the storyline in any significant way. Occasionally their pidgin English is represented, which does little to endear them to the reader:

> 'Me t'ink dat is true,' answered the Esquimau, with a look of grave perplexity. 'If de ship go into dat riv'r he t'ink we no arrive, and so he go 'way, and we all starve!'[343]

The Indian guides in the party seem to be ascribed the same low profile. At the end of the novel, once a peace treaty has been put into effect between the Eskimo and the Indians of Ungava Bay, most of the natives who accompanied the white characters readopt their "savage" lifestyle:

> Moses, finding the life of a fur-trader not quite to his taste, rejoined his countrymen, and reverted to killing seals and eating raw blubber. The two Indians also returned to a purely savage life, which indeed, they had only forsaken for a time.[344]

The tribal Inuit are portrayed as regretting the departure of the white settlers from Ungava Bay which was proclaimed as a nonprofitable location for a Fur post. The narrator suggests "it may be that some good had been done to the souls of these poor natives during their brief intercourse

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[343]R.M. Ballantyne, *Ungava: A Tale of Esquimau Land*. London: Ward, Lock & Co, Ltd. n.d. p.148.

[344]*Ungava: A Tale of Esquimau Land*, pp.365-6.

with the traders,"[345] but the lighthearted, at times flippant, tone of his story does not permit him to speculate on so serious a subject. One would think, however, that juvenile readers would be quick to pick up on the Christian overtones of the narrator's statement.

The Indian

Although the Métis and the Inuit peoples of Canada appear in European fiction and poetry, it is the "Indian" who prevails as the most popular aboriginal type in nineteenth and twentieth-century British, French and German literature. In this section we will deal with the treatment of the Canadian Indian, even though scholars of native literature have indicated that the border between Canada and the United States is an "artificial" one in the minds of native groups whose territories cross this boundary:

> From the vantage point of Native experience, such things as national boundaries are artificial at best, and, within the collective mind of contemporary tribes such as the Iroquois confederacy in the east and the Blackfoot confederacy in the west, the forty-ninth parallel is a figment of someone else's imagination.[346]

Frederik Hetman, a German translator of North American Indian legends uses similar words of caution to explain the content of his work *Indianermärchen aus Kanada*. He states that

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[345]*Ungava: A Tale of Esquimau Land*, p.366.

[346]Thomas King, *The Native in Literature*."Introduction." Eds. Thomas King, Cheryl Calver, & Helen Hoy. ECW Press, 1987. p.10.

the languages and cultures of Indian tribes cross national boundaries and that the term "Kanada" is used to indicate the northern region of North America:

> Um dies gleich einzuräumen: die Bezeichnung "Indianermärchen aus Kanada" ist gewiß anfechtbar. Zwar stammen die meisten der in diesem Band versammelten Texte von Indianerstämmen, die einmal auf dem Territorium Kanadas gelebt haben oder dort leben. Andererseits stellt natürlich die Staatsgrenze zwischen Kanada und den USA keine natürliche Grenze dar. Sie trennt nicht säuberlich in ihrer Lebensweise, ihrer Sprache, in ihrer Kulturform unterschiedliche Gruppen der Urbevölkerung Amerikas voneinander. Somit soll das Stichwort "Kanada" im Titel lediglich andeuten, daß es sich hier speziell um Märchen und Mythen von Indianerstämmen aus dem nördlichen Teil des Subkontinents Nordamerika handelt.[347]

Although Hetmann's observations about the unclear dividing line between Indian groups residing along the Canada/U.S. border are essentially valid, his vague use of the term Canada to designate the "North" contributes to the blurring of the distinction between Canada and its southern neighbour in the European mind. Because this study deals with the treatment of the Indian in the context of Canadian identity, we have restricted our analysis to Indian groups portrayed in regions which belong to the current geographical and political definition of Canada.

Another area of controversy when examining the "Indian" in foreign literature lies in the very definition of the term

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[347] *Indianermärchen aus Kanada*. Ed. and trans. by Frederik Hetmann. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1978. "Vorwort," p.9.

"Indian." Thomas King discusses how this term was used by early writers to portray a generic type, and that the current term native is little better:

> Early writers, faced with the distinct identities and voices of the various tribes, attempted to capture the potential confusion and the potential power by trapping the genius in a comfortable generic term – the word Indian – much like catching a genie in a bottle. Twentieth-century terminology, for all its sensitivities in other areas, has done no more than add a second comfortable generic term – Native – to our vocabulary, in an effort to suppose an organic unity for disparate peoples.[348]

Native writer Lenore Keeshig-Tobias appears to agree with King on this point and calls the term "Indian" "a figment of the white man's imagination":

> And what about the term "Indian"? What does it mean to you? What images does it conjure up? Noble heathens of yesteryear? Dead princesses and distant saints? Wards of the government with hands out asking for more, more, more? The skids in your inner-city streets? How about a warrior society armed to the teeth with semiautomatic rifles? How I loathe the term "Indian." And this is not because of a negative self-image. It's because of a deep pride in my heritage and culture, and knowledge of my history.[349]

Keeshig-Tobias and King identify the term "Indian" as an invention of the white man, as an expression used by some to gloss over differences in native cultures in an effort to

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[348]*The Native in Literature*, Introduction. p.9.

[349]Lenore Keeshig-Tobias, "White Lies?" *Saturday Night*. October 1990. p.67. Article pp.67-8.

homogenize aboriginal people.[350] Our study of European perceptions of Indians in Canada will confirm the existence of generic Indian types in the European consciousness, types which include the "good, honest sometimes Christian Indian" vs. the "pernicious, marauding savage" as well as the Indian in danger of cultural extinction. However, our analysis will also show that not all depictions of the Indian in European literature are necessarily crude; some authors genuinely attempt to portray aboriginal people in a sensitive and knowledgeable manner.

During the nineteenth century British works about Canada's Indians seem to outnumber novels and poetry published in France and Germany. These works also contain some of the most shallow representations of the Indian. In G.A. Henty's *With Wolfe in Canada*, for example, the prevailing image of the Indian is that of the merciless savage intent on acquiring English scalps, who is aided and abetted in this act by the equally uncivilized French Canadians epitomized by Governor Vaudreuil. Achilles Daunt's portrayal of Indians in *The Three*

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[350]The British travel writer, Anna Brownell Jameson, refers to inaccurate images of the Indian perpetuated in fiction and travel literature: "Notwithstanding all I have heard and read, I have yet but a vague idea of the Indian character; and the very different aspect under which it has been represented by various travellers, as well as writers of fiction, adds to the difficulty of forming a correct estimate of the people..." p.28. She also states that she has been informed that "there is as much difference between the customs and language of different nations, the Chippewas and Mohawks, for instance, as there is between any two nations of Europe." p.28. *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*. Afterword by Clara Thomas. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990.

Trappers: A Story of Adventure in the Wilds of Canada (1898), is equally harsh. The main characters are three young men with French-Canadian names, one of whom dies at the hands of an Indian. This event seems to set the anti-Indian tone of the novel. When the two remaining men encounter a trapper by the name of Jake from Missouri, an intensely negative image of Indians is unleashed. He calls them "niggurs," and his primary purpose in life is to kill and scalp the Blackfoot Indian who attacked his friend Bucknall:

> He [Jake] could not be got to understand that any moral guilt was attachable to the shooting of a mere Indian, the more especially when, as in this instance, the individual Redskin had attacked his friend Bucknall, who came near losing his scalp in the encounter...
>
> ...the trappers and mountain men of the west, generally speaking, are no more troubled in conscience by having killed an Indian than by having killed a buffalo.[351]

Jake the trapper clearly subscribes to the notion that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian."[352] His racist stance is clearly presented as extreme and attributed to his ignorance of Christianity. Nevertheless the anti-Indian tone is in keeping with the general ideology of the novel.

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[351]Achilles Daunt, *The Three Trappers. A Story of Adventure in the Wilds of Canada*. With Illustrations. London: T. Nelson and Sons, Paternoster Row, 1898. p.109.

[352]This expression can be traced back to General Philip Henry Sheridan's statement: "The only good Indians I ever saw were dead." *Remark at Fort Cobb, Indian Territory* (January, 1869). Cited in *Familiar Quotations: A Collection of Passages, Phrases and Proverbs, Traced to Their Sources in Ancient and Modern Literature by John Bartlett*. Ed. Christopher Morley. Twelfth Edition. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951. p.594.

Negative presentations of Indians abound in Daunt's novel and are not restricted to the Blackfoot tribe. Even the Chippewa are not spared a grim fate. In one instance, the trapper Pierre describes a Chippewa attack of a fort where he was once stationed. The Indians find themselves locked in a section of the fort where they proceed to drink alcohol and accidentally start a fire, thereby burning to death in the locked room.

Frederick Marryat's *The Settlers in Canada*, which is set in eighteenth-century Canada offers its readers two Indian types. The author uses the type of the vengeful, heartless Indian as represented by Angry Snake to create a sensationalistic adventure tale. This Indian kidnaps Percival, a young white boy and teaches him to live like an Indian. When the boy is finally restored to his English family, he must be stripped of his Indian education and reinstructed in the practices of the civilized world. The "good" Indian in the novel is symbolized by Strawberry Plant, an Indian woman married to the Canadian trapper Malachi Bone. In the course of the story, Strawberry Plant's conversion to Christianity is responsible for reviving Malachi's Christian beliefs:

> 'There's one thing, Mr. Alfred, that has given me great content, and more than anything, perhaps, reconciled me to my new way of living; and that is, that the Strawberry, by the blessing of God and the labour of your mother

> and cousins, has become a good Christian...'[353]

Here the Indian is used as a means of reasserting the superiority of European ideology: it is through the efforts of the British characters that an Indian woman and her Canadian husband who has strayed from his religion find the Christian path. Strawberry Plant is of course also a useful mediator between the white settlers and the other aborigines in the novel, but the overriding tone of this moralistic work is a sense of triumph in this Indian's abandonment of her "old ways":

> ...'What a nice little creature she is!'
> 'Yes; and how quickly she is becoming useful. She has almost given up her Indian customs and is settling down quietly into English habits.'[354]

R.M. Ballantyne's *The Buffalo Runners* also presents its readers with an honest Indian and unscrupulous savages who attack the Red River settlers. The "bad Indian" is represented by a Cree native called Kateegoose whose jealousy of his fellow Cree, Okématan, compels him to instill suspicion in the minds of the white settlers as to the latter's activities. Kateegoose is described as

> an ill-favoured savage, with various expressions on his ugly visage which were not so much Nature's gifts as the result of his own

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[353]Frederick Marryat, *The Settlers in Canada*. London: Collin's Clear-Type Press, n.d. p.260.

[354]*The Settlers in Canada*, p.198.

> evil passions. Jealousy was one of them, and he had often turned a green eye on Okématan.[355]

This evil Indian is punished by the author at the end of the novel when he is scalped by his enemies, the Sioux. Okématan, on the other hand, the loyal friend of the Scottish Red River settlers, counsels peace when his band plans to attack the settlers. (The Cree feel slighted because the English government mistakenly drew up a treaty with the Salteaux instead of the Cree.) At the end of the story, Okématan's expresses his affection for the tribe of Palefaces called the Scottish ("I love the Scos-mins") and indicates his desire to share the land with the whiteman:

> Our land is large. There is room for all – and *our* chiefs will never seize it. Our hearts are large; there is plenty of room there too.[356]

The admiration for the Scottish in the novel probably an extension of Ballantyne's own patriotic feeling for Scotland. The many references to Christianity in this work and others also reflect Ballantyne's allegiance to Protestantism, specifically to the Presbyterian Church.[357]

Like British literature of the nineteenth century, French literature also favoured the adventure novel as a genre for presenting Canadian Indians. Henri-Émile Chevalier's *La*

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[355]R.M. Ballantyne, *The Buffalo Runners*, p.167.

[356]*The Buffalo Runners*, p.415.

[357]Following the death of his sister in 1853, Ballantyne was elected as an elder of the Free Church of Scotland. Eric Quayle, *Ballantyne the Brave*. p.88.

Huronne: Scènes de la vie canadienne is one such example. Like *The Last of the Mohicans*, *La Huronne* concentrates on the extinction of an Indian type. The narrator informs his reader that only 140 Hurons or Yendal are left in the Lorette area after the massive Iroquois slaughter of this tribe.[358] The primary Indian character in this novel is a young Huron squaw whose trademarks are her racial purity and virginity. The exoticism of her person is heightened by the fact that she is the last remaining Huron of unmixed blood, and she has vowed never to marry despite her obvious attraction to Alphonse Mougenot, a French Canadian[359]:

> Dans les veines d'Yureska coulait immaculé le sang des Hurons... Méprisant les métis du village de Lorette qu'elle regardait comme des bâtards indignes des Yendals leur ancêtres, et ne voulant ou n'osant pas déroger par une alliance avec une autre race, elle semblait destinée à mourir vierge.[360]

Despite her Indian exoticism, Yureska is a Christian and also goes by the name Marie. She is a fitting contrast to her step-mother "La Corneille-Noire" who has never fully adopted Christianity nor abandoned her Indian religious beliefs. This

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[358]In *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, Anna Brownell Jameson refers to the village of Lorette and its mixed and dwindling Huron population: "When I was there, the number was under two hundred; many of the huts deserted, the inhabitants having fled to the woods and taken up the hunter's life again; in those who remained, there was scarce a trace of native Indian blood." Footnote, p.322.

[359]The narrator indicates that "au moment, où j'écris ces lignes, il n'y a plus, ni à la Jeune, ni à la Vieille Lorette, un Huron pur de tout alliage." *La Huronne*, p.83.

[360]*La Huronne*, pp.86-87.

seventy-year old crone is ascribed the powers of a sorceress by other Hurons. Unlike Yureska, who helps the French Canadians in their search for a young man's fiancée, La Corneille-Noire detests "les visages-pâles" and fears for her step-daughter's reputation. It comes as no surprise to the reader when the last of the "pure laine"[361] Hurons drowns near the end of the novel.

Another nineteenth-century French novel which uses the Huron Indians as its subject is Jules Verne's *Famille-Sans-Nom*. Although the novel concentrates on French-Canadian nationalism in the 1837 uprising in Lower Canada, Verne also manages to integrate a subplot surrounding the character of Nicolas Sagamore, a Huron notary public practising in Montréal. Verne's awareness of Cooper's adventure novels is clear from his frequent references to the latter's "Leatherstocking tales" throughout *Famille-Sans-Nom*. Cooper's fiction and the French reading public's interest in this American author[362] undoubtedly influenced Verne's decision to place more emphasis on his Indian subject than the subject matter of *Famille-Sans-Nom* warranted. Verne's character Nick is described as a fifty year-old notary of Huron descent whose

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[361]The term is used by the Québecois to refer to the inhabitants of Québec descended from the original settlers of the region, thus distinguishing this segment of the population from immigrants or English-Canadians.

[362]Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* influenced the imagination of French writers like Balzac (*Le dernier Chouan*, 1829) and Dumas Père (*Les Mohicans de Paris*, 1854).

cousin is the current chief of a Huron tribe. The interplay between Nick, the proper, civilized notary and his clerk, Lionel, an idealistic young poet who wishes to exploit Nick's Indian heritage provides the primary source of comic relief in an otherwise serious story. The turning point for Nick arrives when he is informed by the Hurons that he has inherited the chieftancy to his recently deceased cousin's tribe of Hurons known as the Mahogannis. Nick accepts the honour to appease the members of the tribe, but constantly thinks about returning to his legal practice in Montréal. When the Hurons inadvertantly become involved in the patriote cause, their new chief begins to despair over his reputation and inability to return to Montréal without facing arrest.

Verne's portrait of the Indian in his work is not a particularly sympathetic one. Nick's constant resistance to adopting his role as Huron chief, his calm, refined manner which contrasts with that of the "belliqueux guerriers,"[363] his reluctance to don Indian costume, and his obvious preferance for French-Canadian society clearly indicate that the rational, white value system prevails over the impetuous, savage way of life. The savage lifestyle is further stripped of credibility by the Romantic idealization of Lionel for his master's new role as Huron leader. Lionel sees Nick's new

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[363]*Famille-Sans-Nom*, p.174.

status in opportunistic terms; he would like to translate the Huron war chants into lyric verse:[364]

> Quant à Lionel, il ne se possédait pas de joie, bien que son patron lui parût particulièrement embarrassée d'une situation qui prêterait à rire dans la confrérie des notaires canadiens. Avec sa nature de poète, il entrevoyait déjà qu'il serait appelé à célébrer les hauts faits des Mahogannis, à mettre en vers lyriques le chant de guerre des Sagamores, avec la crainte, toutefois, de ne pas trouver une rime à tomahawk.[365]

The concept of transplanting an individual raised among white society into an Indian milieu is obviously borrowed from Cooper's presentation of Hawkeye or Deerslayer, a whiteman whose abilities as a scout surpass those of Indians.[366] Cooper's image is a reversal of the image of the "transplanted Indian" who adapts to white society and adopts Christian beliefs. However, Verne's "Indian" is a more ambiguous entity; in *Famille-Sans-Nom* he paradoxically transplants an Indian

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[364]It is worth noting that both Verne's Lionel character and Victor Forbin's Louis Bertain are artists who seek to exploit natives to further their own ends. A paradox therefore arises in the equation of art with oppression rather than freedom of expression. On an extratextual level, European writers, aware of the public demand for exoticism and adventure, may also be called self-serving for using the North American native in their works.

[365]*Famille-Sans-Nom*, p.169.

[366]James Fenimore Cooper is best known for his Letherstocking tales and for his presentation of Leatherstocking, one of the great American heroes of fiction. The five novels of the series were not published in narrative order; these works are *The Deerslayer* (1841), *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), *The Pathfinder* (1840), *The Pioneers* (1823), and *The Prairie* (1827). In these adventure tales, the hero, Natty Bumppo is known by various names including Hawkeye, Deerslayer, Pathfinder and Leatherstocking.

into Indian society, and the reader watches with delight how the white clerk seeks to integrate himself more thoroughly into Indian culture than his employer of Huron extraction. Unfortunately for Lionel, the clear reasoning of Nick prevails at the end of the novel when he returns to his notary post in Montréal. The Mahogannis are, in a sense, compensated for the loss of their chief by not facing punishment from the Canadian Government for their involvement in the patriote cause.[367]

Unlike French and British literature, German literature about Indians in Canada was not so prevalent during the nineteenth century. One work, however, which can be claimed as a German poem set in Canada is Nikolaus Lenau's *Die drei Indianer*. This poem takes place at the Niagara Falls and presents three generations of Indians, a grandfather, father and son who plunge to their death over the falls in order to flee the whiteman's intrusion on their shores:

> Täglich übers Meer in wilder Eile
> Fliegen ihre Schiffe, gift'ge Pfeile,
> Treffen unsre Küste mit Verderben,
> Nichts hat uns die Räuberbrut gelassen,
> Als im Herzen tödlich bittres Hassen:
> Kommt, ihr Kinder, kommt, wir wollen sterben![368]

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[367]As we mentioned in a previous chapter, the Indian tribes did not make a significant contribution to the French-Canadian rebellion of 1837 as Verne indicates in *Famille-Sans-Nom*.

[368]Nikolaus Lenau, "Die drei Indianer," *Nikolaus Lenau. Werke in einem Band*. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, 1966. p.103. ll.25-30.

Unlike many of the European presentations of the Indian, Lenau's is more sympathetic towards the native; the perspective is that of the Indian and not of the whiteman. The tone of Lenau's poem which condemns the whiteman and exalts the Indian bears some resemblance to attitudes in Chateaubriand's *René* and *Atala* as well as to the oft quoted "Der Wilde" by an eighteenth-century poet, Johann Gottfried Seume whose famous lines epitomize the nature of the noble savage:

> Ruhig lächelnd sagte der Hurone:
> 'Seht, ihr fremden, klugen weißen Leute,
> Seht, wir Wilden sind doch beßre Menschen!'
> Und er schlug sich seitwärts in die Büsche.[369]

This more sensitive portrayal of the Indian was not to continue in most twentieth-century German fiction which was to a great extent influenced by Cooper's images of the Indian. In the preface to his travel book *Kanada*, Anton Mayer links the German's image of Canada to the literary presentation of various Indian tribes and the French/English war in Cooper's Leatherstocking tales:

> Kanada ist wohl den meisten von uns in ihren Kinder- oder Jungenstagen sehr nahe gewesen: wenn wir uns damals auch nicht immer über die geographischen Bedingungen klargeworden sind, welche die Taten und Erlebnisse der Pelzjäger im nordischen Westen zur Voraussetzung hatten. Die Namen der Indianerstämme, deren blutige Fehden wir mit hingegebener Aufmerksamkeit verfolgten, die Häuptlinge der Irokesen, Assiniboins, Algonquins und Tschippewäer werden

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[369]Johann Gottfried Seume, "Der Wilde," *Deutsche Dichtung im 18. Jahrhundert*. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1960. p.408.

> in der Geschichte des Landes noch einmal lebendig; die Kämpfe zwischen den Engländern und den Franzosen, welche den historischen Hintergrund des "Lederstrumpf" bilden, bekommen in der Darstellung ihrer grausamen Wirklichkeit eine neue Anziehungskraft und versetzen uns gleichzeitig in längst vergangene Zeiten des eigenen Daseins zurück...[370]

Mayer's loose association of Canada with the Indian wars in Cooper's fiction is another reminder of how Europeans tend to focus on Canada's past and are unwilling to believe that the land and its culture has changed: "das Land is dasselbe wie einst, einsam, gewaltig und still."[371] This desire to believe in a Canada suspended in time explains in part their often fuzzy notion of Canada's modern perimeter as well as the disillusionment of visitors when they see Canada's native population. A work by a contemporary native writer provides an apt illustration of a German tourist in search of the "real" Indian during her visit to Canada. Emma Lee Warrior's short story "Compatriots" portrays a German visitor by the name of Hilda Afflerbach who asks the Indians on a reserve near Calgary to help her meet Helmut Walking Eagle, a German who "turned Indian":

> 'I want to see him' Hilda Said. 'I heard about him and I read a book he wrote. He seems to know a lot about the Indians, and he's been accepted into their religious society. I hope he can tell me things I can take home. People

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[370]Anton Mayer, *Kanada*. Berlin: Kurt Wolff Verlag AG., 1935. "Vorwort" p.5.

[371]*Kanada*, "Vorwort," p.5.

in Germany are really interested in Indians. They even have clubs.'[372]

Throughout her stay at the reserve, Hilda seems oblivious to the more mundane aspects of Indian life: Indians doing laundry, Indians eating Kentucky Fried Chicken, Indians begging for money to buy vanilla or lysol, and Indians who do not practice the various kinds of native religion. Instead, she is in search of the exotic; she wants to attend a sun dance and see traditional Indian accoutrements like tepees and ceremonial robes. When Helmut Walking Eagle refuses to talk to her, her Indian guides promise to take her to a "sweat" (an Indian steam-bath) which Hilda thinks "would be real Indian."[373]

Although this story is not an example of European literature it illustrates how the European character's conception of the "real" Indian differs from that of the existing reality. The wonderful irony of the narrative lies in Hilda's belief that a European "turned Indian" is a more faithful image of a real Indian than the actual natives. And when her encounter with Helmut Walking Eagle proves unsatisfying, she must continue to search for something other than the reality she finds on the reserve to satisfy her foreign tastes.

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[372]Emma Lee Warrior, "Compatriots," *All My Relations. An Anthology of Contemporary Canadian Fiction*, p.50.

[373]"Compatriots," p.59.

Works by Ilse Schreiber and [redacted] Larsen also present the disillusionment of Germans with the state of the Indian in Canada. In Schreiber's *Die Schwestern aus Memel*, Germans think of "Indianer, die nur von Jagd und Fischfang leben"[374] and must adjust their views when they discover that Indians also farm and live in ordinary log cabins:

> In Lenka hat sich die Vorstellung von buntbemalten Zelten und halbnackten indianischen Kriegern in Waffen und Federschmuck ja schon etwas geändert, aber nun fängt ein Indianerdorf mit einem ganz gewöhnlichen Blockhaus an? Das ist enttäuschend![375]

When the German settlers in Saskatchewan receive gift parcels from Germany, the Indians who happen to be present while the Germans sing their Christmas songs and recite the Christmas story appear to be entranced by the display: "Den Indianern scheint alles, was hier geschieht, eine Art Zauberhandlung."[376] Thus the exoticism formerly attached to the Indians is applied to the German immigrants.

Like Schreiber's novel, Fred Larsen's *Ticket nach Kanada* portrays the disillusionment experienced by a young man who leaves Germany to travel to Canada in the hopes of meeting Indians who still live in the wilderness. What he finds

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[374]Ilse Schreiber, *Die Schwestern aus Memel: Ein Kanada-Roman*. Berlin: Verlag und Vertriebs-Gesellschaft, 1936. p.33.

[375]*Die Schwestern aus Memel*, p.119.

[376]*Die Schwestern aus Memel*, p.129.

instead, however, is a pathetic display of Indians robed in gaudy costumes for the purpose of attracting tourist money:

> Die Männer und selbst die kleinen Jungen schmücken sich dabei mit viel zu großen Federhauben, deren ganzer Sinn nur eine theatralische Effekthascherei ist, um einigen Touristen aus der Großstadt zu imponieren. Es wird viel Tamtam gemacht. Die Tanzschritte und Bewegungen haben mit den echten so gut wie nichts mehr zu tun. Die armen Ureinwohner nehmen die Stellung ein, die 'bei uns' den Zigeunern zukommt, deren sich die amtliche Fürsorge noch nicht angenommen hat. Es ist zum Weinen.[377]

Other German novels which portray the Canadian Indian include a series of works by Erhard Wittek (pseudonym, "Fritz Steuben"), a twentieth-century German writer of juvenile literature who wrote many stories about the Shawnee Indian chief Tecumseh. Some of the titles include *Der Fliegende Pfeil* (1930), *Tecumseh, der Berglöwe* (1932), and *Tecumsehs Tod* (1939). His fascist style adventure and Indian stories were widely read and portrayed Tecumseh as "Edelindianer" and "Führernatur."[378] Kurt Riedel's *Durch Kanadas Wildnis: Erlebnisse eines deutschen Jägers* and A.E. Johann's trilogy *Ans dunkle Ufer, Wälder jenseits der Wälder*, and *Hinter den Bergen das Meer* also include portraits of the native. Although Indians play a marginal role in Riedel's work, they in effect set the story in motion. Two of their horses have been stolen

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[377]Fred Larsen, *Ticket nach Kanada*. Stuttgart: Union Verlag Stuttgart, 1964. p.82.

[378]*Lexikon deutschsprachiger Schriftsteller von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Leipzig: VEB Bibliographisches Institut, p.341.

by white men, and it is the job of an RCMP officer of German extraction to hunt these men down. Inspector Siebert is accompanied on his quest by another German who wants to travel through the wilderness. However, the Indians only seem to be mentioned in the story in order to highlight the superior skills and morality of the German characters. In the course of the story, Inspector Siebert's skill in an Indian tongue is revealed as well as his code of justice which surpasses that of the ordinary Canadian. The reader is informed of the Indian chief's futile efforts to impress the Fort Pelly police to follow the horse thieves who also tried to shoot two of his men:

> Schließlich fertigte man eine Niederschrift über seinen Bericht an, gab ihm aber zu verstehen, daß man sich wegen ein paar indianischer Pferde und zweier angeschossener Schwarzfüße keine großen Scherereien machen könne.[379]

This image of the Indian who is shabbily treated by Anglo-Canadians is a common one in German literature. In his travel book *Kanadas ferner Osten. Reisen durch ein unberührtes Land*, A.E. Johann compares the unkind treatment of North American Indians by the British with the more humane attitude of the French towards the aboriginal population in Canada:

> ...ihnen [den Engländern] bedeuten die amerikanischen Ureinwohner nichts weiter als ein lästiges Hindernis für die eigene Ausbreitung; die Indianer hatten verdrängt,

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[379]Kurt Riedel, *Durch Kanadas Wildnis: Erlebnisse eines deutschen Jägers*, Gütersloh: Verlag C. Bertelsmann, 1943. p.31.

> notfalls ausgerottet zu werden. Deshalb weist die englisch/amerikanische Geschichte eine Vielzahl von schlecht verhehlten Greueln auf, die den Ureinwohnern angetan wurden, während die kanadische frühe Geschichte, die von den Franzosen bestimmt war, von Gewalttätigkeit den Indianern gegenüber bis in die Gegenwart hinein im wesentlichen freigeblieben ist.[380]

However, Johann's own presentation of the German attitude towards the Indian in his fiction is not without a negative dimension. Although he does provide an intelligent and reverent treatment of the Indian throughout his Canadian trilogy, he portrays the death of Indians from smallpox with compassion and he depicts an Indian Mes Coh Thoutin as a trusted friend of the German protagonist Paul Soldat, there is at times a clear sense of European, racial supremacy in the narrative. For example, in *Hinter den Bergen das Meer* the Indian wife of the German immigrant, Paul Soldat (formerly called Lüders) is cast in a negative light because of her desire to be among her own people again, especially her former Indian lover. She leaves Paul and their child in order to rejoin her people, forcing the German character to come to the bitter conclusion that Indian women cannot be controlled and that "Indianer bleiben Indianer."[381] Atak is also criticized in the novel for not recognizing her Métis daughter as her child:

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[380]A.E. Johann, *Kanadas ferner Osten: Reisen durch ein unberührtes Land*. München: Wilhelm Heyne Verlag, 1983. pp.98-9.

[381]*Hinter den Bergen das Meer*, p.74.

> Nie also hat sie unsere kleine Nagamoun als ihr Kind angesehen, weil es keine glatten schwarzen Haare, keine so braune Haut wie die ihre besaß, und weil ihr liebliches Rot in die Wangen stieg, wenn sie sich im Spiel erhitzt hatte. In Ataks Augen also war Nagamoun sein Kind und nicht ihr Kind gewesen, obleich sie es geboren hatte.[382]

Atak's unmaternal attitude combined with her abandonment of her husband seems to justify her accidental death in the novel and to give Paul cause to distance himself from any emotional ties to his Indian wife. When he sees Anna Leblois again, the daughter of the legendary fur trader Walther Corssen, he realizes that he only married Atak as a temporary substitute for Anna: "Paul aber hatte die Indianerin [Atak] nur geheiratet – er glaubte es jetzt zu wissen –, weil Anna für ihn unerreichbar gewesen war."[383] Once again the European construct seems to assert itself as the prevailing system in the trilogy despite the desire of the characters to abandon the old world. Anna, who is a second generation German, remains a European despite her constant contact with North American Indians and voyageurs:

> Aber Anna Leblois war keine Indianerin; mochte sie auch den größten Teil ihres Lebens im Indianerland verbracht haben, so war sie doch Europäerin geblieben, hing mit allen Fasern ihres Wesens an jener Welt, die die Welt ihres Vaters und ihrer Mutter und auch die ihres Mannes gewesen war.[384]

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[382] *Hinter den Bergen das Meer*, p.47.

[383] A.E. Johann, *Hinter den Bergen das Meer*, p.118.

[384] *Hinter den Bergen das Meer*, p.350.

Thus the Indian way of life, while not dismissed, must ultimately be recognized as subordinate to the powerful influence of the European frame of mind in Johann's "große Kanada-Roman."[385]

The final author to be examined in this chapter as an example of a European novelist writing about Canada's Indians is Bernard Clavel. We have made frequent mention of this contemporary writer in the course of our analysis of the Canadian image, and we will have occasion to do so again in the context of his Indian images. Three of his works which portray the Indian in Canada are *Compagnons du Nouveau-Monde*, *L'Iroquoise* and *Maudits sauvages*. The first novel is set in seventeenth-century New France in the environs of Québec. Two Indian tribes, the Huron and the Iroquois are represented in the novel. The former are portrayed as allies of the French; however, a Jesuit priest warns the main character Bisontin, a Frenchman, not to contradict the Hurons despite the fact that they are allies: "il faut savoir se montrer plein d'humilité...Exige qu'ils te respectent."[386] The Iroquois, who succeed in capturing Bisontin, a priest, several Hurons and other white settlers, are initially portrayed as disgusting savages who torture their captives. However, the author manages to add another dimension to their character

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[385]"Der große Kanada-Roman" is the subtitle included in the Wilhelm Heyne Edition of *Hinter den Bergen das Meer*.

[386]Bernard Clavel, *Compagnons du Nouveau-Monde. Roman*. Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1981. p.105.

when Bisontin is spared from certain death by an Iroquois crone who selects him to replace the son Bisontin killed. During his stay with Soyouwes, Bisontin learns to feel compassion for "cette vieille"; in other words, by focusing on an individual Indian, Clavel seems to urge the reader to reassess his former opinion of the Indians as mere brutes. Bisontin eventually progresses from the status of mere slave to a respected member of the group. He is able to impress the Indians with his carpentry skills, and prides himself on exerting more influence on the Indians with his manual dexterity than the Jesuits could with their religion:

> Est-ce que lui, avec son grand savoir des mains et sa connaissance profonde des matériaux et de leur emploi, n'allait pas s'imposer mieux que les prêtres?[387]

Another one of Clavel's "Indian" works is *L'Iroquoise*. Although this novella predates *Compagnons du Nouveau-Monde*, in style and theme it resembles *Maudits sauvages* more than the former novel. Unlike *Compagnons du Nouveau-Monde* which is set in seventeenth-century New France, the narrative of *L'Iroquoise* is placed in the late 1930s and shows the tragic impact of the civilized world on the Indian. The story unfolds in Boston where three German sailors enter a bar. An altercation arises when the Germans are called Nazis; one of the sailors, a burly redhaired fellow by the name of Karl knocks down a policeman and kills him. Karl's companions

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[387]*Compagnons du Nouveau-Monde*, p.171.

advise him to flee to the North – to Canada. The German thus leaves his friends for the forests of Québec where he meets an Indian and his family. This Indian proceeds to trade his pony and his beautiful daughter, Aldina, for Karl's gun. The stunning Iroquoise (who also happens to be a Christian) becomes Karl's companion, and the reader is told that "une fois de plus, le rouquin eut de la chance."[388] The Indian girl provides a startling contrast to the German giant who borders on the grotesque. Because of his easy recognizability, Karl intends to stay in the forest to trap; however, his Indian companion constantly dreams of going to the city. She has her own box of trinkets, including pictures of movie stars, which she worships religiously. In order to fulfill his daughter's wish to travel to the city, the Indian father obtains a false passport for Karl in the hopes that both can live in freedom:

> Je veux que tu sois libre.
> Il regarde sa fille et ajouta:
> – Avec elle... Libre d'aller où tu veux... Avec elle.[389]

However, shortly thereafter the novella reaches its tragic climax. Aldina who dresses up like a movie star for the journey to Toronto, falls off her horse headfirst and breaks her neck: "Il y eut un craquement terrible. Le même que celui

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[388]Bernard Clavel, *L'Iroquoise*, Paris: Editions Balland, 1979. p.55.

[389]*L'Iroquoise*, p.86.

qui avait fait taire, une nuit, tout un bar de Boston."[390] Karl's nightmare of retribution is finally realized. In the fashion of Greek tragedy, a life has paid for a life. With Aldina's death, Clavel seems to suggest that the outcome of the Indian's desire to choose civilization over the ways of the forest can only be negative.

The same bleak look at Indians who face certain extinction and lose their culture to the influence of progress is provided in *Maudits sauvages* (1989), the final volume of Clavel's six volume series "Le Royaume du Nord." The subject of the novel is Hydro Québec's building of hydroelectric facilities at James Bay in the late 1970s. The primary focus of the narrative is on a fictional Indian tribe, the Wabamahigans. This group led by chief Mestakoshi are few in number and along with the Cree and the Inuit attempt to resist the provincial government's plan to use the land for this purpose. Clavel uses a number of interesting narrative devices to show the plight of the Wabamahigans in their battle to preserve their culture and land from destruction. The novel consist of a third person narrative as well as actual and fictional excerpts from newspapers and journals ranging from the seventeenth century to the late 1970s. There is also a collective voice which can be identified with chief Mestakoshi's views or with those of the tribal elders – a voice which talks of ancient customs, the arrival of the white

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[390] *L'Iroquoise*, p.91.

man, and the erosion of the Indian's way of life. Perhaps the most striking device is the prologue of the novel which possesses an otherworldly quality. This section contains the legend of Tiska, an Indian woman whose entire clan was exterminated, and who mates with a wolf to found the Wabamahigan tribe. The tone of the prologue is primal and intense and provides a stark contrast to the image of the Indian at the end of the novel: an inactive creature seduced by modern conveniences. Mestakoshi's grandson numbers among these Indians who have lost their ties to the old ways:

> Celui en qui il avait vu jadis un futur chef des Wabamahigans est devenue un Indian pareil à la plupart de ceux qui vivent dans les réserves. Il ne trappe plus guère. Il chasse de temps en temps, il a un emploi au bureau du village.[391]

The death of the Wabamahigan race or "la fin de la race"[392] is sealed with the chief's passing and with the final image of the younger Wabamahigans playing bingo:

> ...des Indiens alignés déchiraient à longueur de jour des billets de bingo. Parmi eux, il y avait René, le fils du chef Mestakoshi. Dans les bureaux d'en face, Vincent attendait l'heure de descendre, lui aussi, jouer au bingo.[393]

Unfortunately the scope of this study of the Canadian image in European literature does not permit us to do justice

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[391]Bernard Clavel, *Maudits sauvages. Roman*. Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1989. p.310.

[392]*Maudits sauvages*, p.321.

[393]*Maudits sauvages*, p.355.

to the density of Clavel's sensitive treatment of the Indian in *Maudits sauvages*. The novel certainly warrants further comment and it was, I believe, unfairly criticized in the Parisian magazine *L'Express*.[394] It is encouraging to note, however, that despite the controversial subject of the book,[395] *Maudits sauvages* received very enthusiastic reviews in two leading Québec newspapers, *La Presse* and *Le Devoir*.[396]

Bernard Clavel's recent novels reveal that the native people of Canada are indeed a subject worthy of artistic treatment. He is one of the few contemporary European authors who has shown a literary interest in Canada, including the present state of native affairs. This focus on the plight of the ordinary or marginalized individual is in keeping with his earlier work which addresses the struggle of daily life. Raised in the Urals as the son of a butcher turned gardener,

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[394]Reviewer Olivier Mauraisin provides the following cynical comment on the book: "Il faudrait avoir un coeur de pierre pour résister à cette avalanche de bons sentiments. Tant pis! Nous résistons. Les mésaventures de ces 'maudits sauvages' nous arrachent plus de bâillements que de larmes. La compassion ne se commande pas." "Court-circuit dans le wigwam. Quand l'éléctricité éteint toute une civilisation," *L'Express* 24 mars 1989, p.140.

[395]The book is based on Hydro-Québec's construction of power facilities at James Bay. At the time Clavel's book was released, plans for the building of Phase Two of this project were already underway.

[396]Réginald Martel, "Clavel a finalement bien fait de s'en mêler! Maudits Sauvages, sixième volume du cycle romanesque le Royaume du Nord," *La Presse* Samedi 1er avril 1989, p.K2 and Jean Ethier-Blais, "L'Univers a-t-il dit son dernier mot" *Le Devoir* samedi 18 mars 1989. p.D8

Clavel seeks to recapture the life and landscape of his youth in his fiction: "Bernard Clavel peuple ses récits de petites gens, paysans et artisans... La vie quotidienne est leur combat; ils subissent les grands événements sans les comprendre."[397] Clavel's *Maudits sauvages* brings the subject of the Indian to the forefront instead of treating natives as incidental aspects of the narrative.

Unfortunately, the majority of Europe's literary testaments to the aboriginal people of Canada are more stereotypical. Nineteenth-century literature illustrates a taste for the savage, warlike Indian or for the other extreme – the Christian native. Other portraits including twentieth-century perceptions reflect a rather patronizing attitude towards the "poor savages" who are perceived as creatures who know no better. In the cases of all three native groups, the Métis, the Indian and the Inuit, the European writer of fiction or poetry seems to vacillate between an initial fascination for the wild, unleashed, primitive form of life which constitutes the stuff of romance, and a dismissal of this very lifestyle for its un-European quality. In some cases, the fictional native is made more acceptable through his conversion to Christianity, but frequently the sincerity of his Christianity is questioned and the native is ultimately saddled with an assortment of negative qualities including

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[397]"Bernard Clavel," *Dictionnaire des littératures de langue française*. Eds. JP. de Beaumarchais, Daniel Couty and Alain Rey. Paris: Bordas, 1987. p.505.

alchoholism, laziness, complacency, and dependency on the white man. In some respects, the Métis character benefits and suffers more than the Indian or the Inuit in literature; on the one hand, his white blood alone appears to make him superior to or more civilized than the pure-blooded Indian or Inuit; the Métis' relationships with white or European characters are regarded as a more acceptable alliance than relations between a white and an Indian or Inuit. On the other hand, the white makeup of the Métis also elicits a higher expectation of sophistication or "appropriate" behaviour. When this expectation is not met, he or she is dismissed as being little better than a savage.

Another important image of the native perpetuated in European literature is that of the decline of a way of life coupled with the European tendency to focus on the past when the native lived in his wild glory. The desire to place the native in the past is due to some psychological need to perpetuate a Romantic image of the Indian that has very little to do with the existing reality. For many writers it seems easier to mourn the loss of a former image than to deal with the current state of the native in Canada, which is perceived in primarily negative terms.[398] Because no positive features can be ascribed to the native of today, the subject does not

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[398]Even Bernard Clavel has difficulty showing the integration of natives into mainstream Canadian society in *Maudits sauvages*. He can only conceive of the modernization of native life in negative terms.

appear to be a viable one, even in the fictional medium. Given this attitude towards the native among European writers and even some non-Native North American writers, contemporary native authors have taken it upon themselves to stress the present rather than the past, and to affirm community values, rather than the image of the native in danger of extinction:

> Rather than try to unravel the complex relationship between the nineteenth-century Indian and the white mind, or to craft a new set of images that still reflects the time but avoids the flat, static depiction of the Native and the two-dimensional quality of the culture, most of us have consciously set our literature in the present, a period that is reasonably free of literary monoliths and which allows for greater latitude in the creation of characters and situations, and, more important, allows us the opportunity to create for ourselves and our respective cultures both a present and a future.[399]

If European literature is ever to renew its images of Canada, it must go beyond its old catalogue of aboriginal stereotypes and recognize the new reality of the Canadian native as an individual promoting his culture in the arts, politics, and social fabric of the Canadian nation.

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[399] *All My Relations: An Anthology of Contemporary Canadian Native Fiction* Ed. Thomas King. "Introduction," p.xii.

Conclusion

Canada has captured the imagination of Europeans, especially British, French and German writers since its discovery in the fifteenth century. Although historically it has often been overshadowed by a foreign interest in its powerful neighbour to the south, it has nevertheless managed to generate a good deal of literary curiosity, especially during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Travelogues, poetry, adventure novels, historical fiction, and other forms of narrative prose about Canadian regions have been published by British, French and German authors over the last two hundred years. This study has concentrated on the images of Canada contained in European fiction and poetry, and has occasionally drawn on travel literature to reinforce certain perceptions of the region. Based on our analysis, it would seem that the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century mark the heyday for British fiction and poetry about Canada. During this time Britain encouraged mass emigration to the area. However, since Canadian Confederation and the consolidated sense of nationhood evident after the First World War, the majority of British literary efforts on the subject of Canada have taken the form of travel literature. French literary interest in Canada was also fairly strong during the nineteenth century, but unlike British authors who appear to have abandoned Canada as a viable literary subject, the country remains an imaginative

possibility for the French. This may in part be attributed to the De Gaullian promotion of links between France and French territories or regions in the world during World War II to gain cultural, political and military support to liberate France from the Germans. France also continued to watch events in Québec rather closely during the 1960s; De Gaulle's 1967 cry "Vive le Québec libre" in Montréal is an indication of French interest in Canada.[400] However, in the case of Bernard Clavel, Canada's appeal is probably based on artistic and personal reasons rather than political. Canada represents an extension of his literary program which consists of a fascination for wide, open spaces and for the struggle of the ordinary individual, both of which are reminiscent of his boyhood in the Ural mountains.

Although numerous travelogues about Canada were produced during the nineteenth century, German literary images of Canada have, in general, only really become prevalent in the twentieth century. This is partly due to the nation's nineteenth-century fascination with the United States. Canada only became a literary and a traveller's ideal once the United States lost its popular image as an untouched wilderness.

Our analysis of various texts has also painted the image of Canada as a promised land where Europeans could make their

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[400]For a startling look at France's involvement in the activities of the Front de libération du Québec in the 1960s, see "Shadow Play," an article by J.L. Granatstein and David Stafford in *Saturday Night* (October 1990) pp.17-22.

fortune. Emigrants were often lured to this land of milk and honey based on the images of prosperity transmitted by adventure fiction, travel literature and emigration propaganda. However, a good deal of the literature also reflects the sense of disillusionment experienced by emigrants. The harsh climate combined with the unsuitability of some Europeans, especially the British gentry, to conditions in the Canadian wilderness drove many an emigrant to despair.

Another common element in the British, French and German literary treatment of Canada is the role of various ideologies in the kinds of images presented. The political forces of British imperialism, German fascism as well as French nationalism succeed in emphasizing the European "Weltanschauung," thereby subordinating Canadian culture to the European. The Canadian image is also manipulated by the literary convention or the ideology of a given text; for example, Romantic or exotic treatments of Canada show the area as a pristine wilderness and reflect a poet's or novelist's rapture about the open spaces of the natural environment – a marked contrast to the pygmy confines of Europe. A French author like Maurice Constantin-Weyer also chooses to apply a mythic quality to the Canadian west as it existed prior to the influx of emigrants and technology at the turn of the century. In the case of some literature, Canada is transformed into an imaginative possibility, a tabula rasa awaiting the creative

imprint of the artist. In other words, the reality of Canada is subordinated to the artistic conception.

The kinds of Canadian subjects chosen by European writers are indeed numerous. In addition to focusing on the plight of the European emigrant in Canada, British, French and German authors have also favoured French Canada and the aboriginal peoples as literary topics. It should come as no surprise that most literature about French Canada was published in France, and that this literature often promoted French-Canadian nationalism as an extension of patriotic feeling for "la mère patrie." Literary depictions of French-Canadian events like the early colonization of New France, the Acadian expulsion of 1755, the British acquisition of Canada in 1759, the 1837 Rebellion in Lower Canada as well as the North-West Rebellion of 1885 are represented in the literatures of Britain, France and Germany. In general, British depictions of the French in Canada are rather negative, although some idealistic portraits of the "happy habitant" do occur. German fiction, on the other hand, has been kinder to the French Canadian, and by extension more critical of the British presence in Canada. French literature reflects both an overzealous desire to idealize the Québécois and the French-Canadian cause and some very realistic presentations of the Québécois in the larger context of man's struggle against the environment.

Perhaps the greatest literary disservice has been done to Canada's aboriginal population who have suffered a whole range

of humiliating depictions in the arsenal of European literature. On the one hand, the primitive nature of the Métis, Inuit and Indian groups has been used as exotic content in fiction and poetry; however, in the majority of the cases, the ideology of the European or the white man has in one form or another (either through the religious conversion or the civilization of the native) been applied to the image of the "savage" to sanitize him, thus making him more acceptable as a literary character. Natives have also been branded with the stereotypical image of lazy savages who have lost their former glory. Even authors who are more sympathetic towards the native have concentrated on extinction rather than affirming the positive aspects of the aboriginal way of life.

When comparing the treatment of Canada in British, French and German literatures, we can identify some differences in the images each national literature presents. For example, each nation often depicts its own citizens as leading characters in fiction about Canada. British texts published between the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries tend to highlight the character of Canada as an extension of the British empire and dismisses French Canadians as incredibly lazy. French literature promotes the image of the French-Canadian population as an anachronism which has clung to its seventeenth-century past, therefore possessing a sense of piety not found in decadent nineteenth-century France. Twentieth-century treatments of French Canada have

often been more critical of the powerful Catholic clergy, especially the Jesuit order, and their manipulation of Québec's inhabitants. German literature as a rule reflects an incredible fascination with the Canadian "Urwald": the untouched beauty of the wilderness. However, our analysis of European images of Canada has in fact revealed more similarities between the presentation of Canada in British, French and German literatures than differences. The three traditions share the glorification of their European system of values or national characteristics, often at the expense of Canadian content.

In some instances the conventions of a given literary genre or movement determine the shape of the Canadian image rather than the national affiliation of the author. For example, British poetry written in heroic couplets often presents an idyllic, pastoral view of Canada along with a hefty dose of didacticism. In the adventure novel or the historical romance certain character types and formulaic plots tend to prevent a sensitive portrayal of Canadian reality. In the case of popular fiction, the entertainment value and the demands of the audience become a priority, despite the author's own awareness of actual conditions in the "real" Canada. Many authors therefore tend to create an image of Canada based on the transmission of well-known literary images, such as those furnished by James Fenimore Cooper in his "Leatherstocking Tales."

If we compare the treatment of Canada in European literature with its depiction in Canadian literature, some similarities emerge. Like many of the nineteenth-century works published in Europe, Canada's early literature reflects an adherence to European models. Major influences included Walter Scott, the sentimental novel/romance, and the adventure tale. French-Canadian literature of the nineteenth century favoured the "roman sentimental," French Romantic poetry and the folktale. This Canadian reliance on European forms is explained by George Woodcock:

> The basic purpose of the early literature of any colonial culture, like the basic purpose of transplanted peasant folk arts, is not to define the future but to consecrate the past. (ie. the folklore of Quebec). Faced by the wilderness, man seeks to assert the familiar, not to evoke the unknown, and so colonial literature generally attempts to reenact against the backdrop of a new land the achievements of an abandoned way of life.[401]

It may be argued, however, that despite its colonial character, even this early Canadian literature presents more insight into Canadian culture than the European works of the time which tend to stress the clear superiority of the Old World over the new land.

With the onset of the twentieth century, Canada began to loosen its ties to Europe and sought to distinguish itself more clearly from the United States. Consequently, writers

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[401]George Woodcock, "Possessing the Land: Notes on Canadian Fiction," *The Canadian Imagination: Dimensions of a Literary Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977. p.73.

worked at establishing a Canadian identity in their literature by concentrating on regional concerns and settings. More recently, Canadian authors have delved into areas such as feminism, metafiction, and the fantastic, and some have even abandoned the Canadian landscape in their works. Canada's native writers have also come into their own as they seek to counteract the stereotypes of the aboriginal in European or non-native literature. In this sense, twentieth-century Canadian literature offers more variety in terms of genre and in the treatment of Canada than British, French and German works. European literature produced during this century still highlights the exotic element, idealizes the past and reveals a rapture for the Canadian North and its native peoples, while largely ignoring the urban centres. In other words, Canada still functions largely as an imaginative "escape," a kind of fantasy-land for many Europeans.

British, French and German treatments of Canada also differ from images of Canada in European ethnic writing. Although immigrant writers often present the tension between their old culture and their new home, they do so with a greater sensitivity to their adopted home.[402] In general, such writing does not reflect the same systematic insistence on the superiority of the motherland found in British, French

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[402]See Tamara J. Palmer's and Beverly J. Rasporich's article on "Ethnic Literature," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Second Edition. Volume II. 1988. pp.725-728.

and German works. Furthermore, their literary audience is Canadian rather than European or foreign.

What binds almost all of the European authors examined in this dissertation together is an awe for the immense geographical spaces of Canada: a space which suggests creative possibilities for the country as well as for the foreign observer. Although many works have concentrated on Canada's past and the dangers encountered by the early inhabitants, there is also the perception that Canada continues to remain a place for new beginnings, where the Old World can rediscover itself and the New World can continue to develop. In short, for the European author this North American country has suggested and still suggests unrealized potential: "une terre immense où tout était à créer."[403]

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[403]Bernard Clavel, *Compagnons du Nouveau-Monde*, p.45.

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